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America

War or Peace in Detroit?

Benjamin L. Masse

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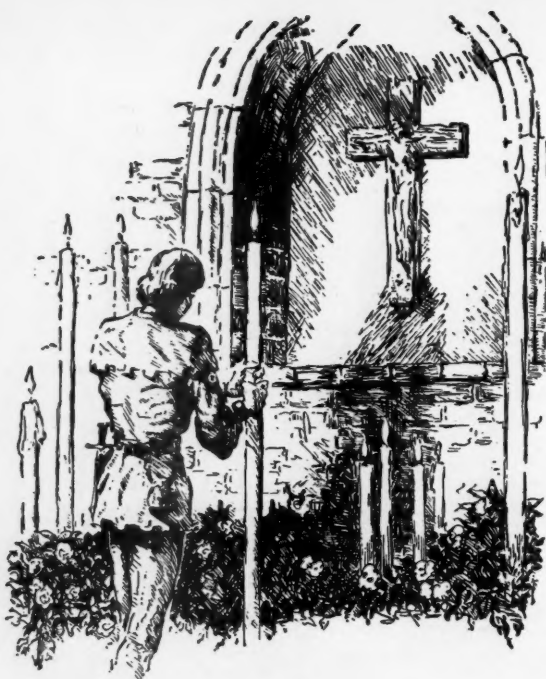
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National Catholic Weekly Review

Vol. XCVIII No. 21 Mar. 1, 1958 Whole Number 2545

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Editorial Office: 329 W. 108TH ST., NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
Business Office: 70 EAST 45TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Business Manager: JOSEPH F. MACFARLANE
Circulation Manager: PATRICK H. COLLINS

Advertising through:

CATHOLIC MAGAZINE REPRESENTATIVES
GRAND CENTRAL TERMINAL BLDG.
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

America. Published weekly, by the America Press at 116 Main Street, Norwalk, Conn. Executive Office, 70 East 45th Street, New York 17, N. Y., Telephone MUrray Hill 6-5750. Cable address: Cathreview, N. Y. Domestic, yearly \$8; 20 cents a copy. Canada, \$9; 20 cents a copy. Foreign, \$9.50; 20 cents a copy. Entered as second-class matter April 17, 1951, at the Post Office at Norwalk, Conn., under the act of March 3, 1879. AMERICA, National Catholic Weekly Review. Registered U. S. Patent Office. Indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.



Correspondence

Law and Morality

EDITOR: The article by Rev. John R. Connery, S.J., on the Wolfenden Report (AM. 1/25) makes evident how essential a consideration of principles of theology is to an analysis and evaluation of the criminal law. The weakness of the criminal law stems in large measure from the influence of erroneous philosophies.

Writing as a theologian, Fr. Connery makes a very difficult area of the criminal law somewhat less baffling. Together with the excellent statement of the Most Rev. William Godfrey, Archbishop of Westminster, the article furnishes a sound basis for a study of the many problems of the sex offender and the law.

JOHN M. MURTAGH
Chief City Magistrate

New York, N. Y.

Netherlands New Guinea

EDITOR: In your issue of Jan. 25, you printed an interesting letter from Rev. Francis J. Corley, S.J., in which he said:

The Netherlands contracted in the 1949 Hague Agreement to determine the political status of New Guinea by negotiation "within a year." That agreement has never been honored, and at least two Indonesian solutions have been rejected. . . .

While the first part of this statement is correct, some qualifications must be added to the assertions which follow.

The Hague Agreement was signed in December, 1949. In April, 1950 there was a preliminary conference in Jakarta. Four months later, Indonesia unilaterally asserted its sovereignty over New Guinea. The conference at the end of the year in The Hague ended without a settlement. While it is therefore true enough that the two parties could not agree on the political status of New Guinea within the year, can it be said that the 1949 agreement "has never been honored"?

With regard to the rejection of Indonesia's solutions, the following should be said. It was the Dutch understanding in 1949 that sovereignty over New Guinea would be transferred to the now defunct Indonesian-Netherlands Union, not to the Republic of Indonesia, which only arose eight months after the initial agreement. New Guinea, moreover, is a most primitive country, which will absorb great investments and much technical skill for a long time, without giving adequate returns.

Indonesia alone is not in a position to provide such things for many years.

In view of these facts, no solution which insists on transfer of sovereignty either immediate or after a brief joint administration, can be acceptable to the Dutch. Their standpoint is that the inhabitants of New Guinea shall determine their own political status as soon as they are able to do so. . . .

May Dutch "woodenness" continue to make the sacrifices which its adherence to principle has already exacted from it.

FRANS KASTEEL, S.J.

Shrub Oak, N. Y.

No Mediocrity

EDITOR: I am writing in response to the editorial "Father Cavanaugh's Talk," which appeared in the Jan. 11 AMERICA. I am a high-school senior.

If Fr. Cavanaugh wants to speak of Catholic intelligence as being "mediocre," and if he wants to shout from the housetops about the "humiliating evidence" of the lack of Catholic representation in scholarship, science, the arts, etc., that's his business. Far be it from me to criticize a priest of God, but I think he would be rendering a greater service, at least when he is addressing a group as large as Washington's John Carroll Society, by pointing to the

successful Catholic scholars, scientists, artists, etc., and urging his audience to use them as models and by giving them a definite goal to strive for.

I know I am more enthusiastic about something positive, something I have been encouraged to try to attain, than I am about something negative, such as being told not to let my grades fall and not to be like the rest of the "mediocre Catholics." . . .

HELEN MOMANY

Jonesboro, Ark.

Challenge to Theologians

EDITOR: Your editorial on John Cogley's challenge (AM. 2/15) was a bit disturbing.

Surely you don't want us to regard our fellow American intellectuals as so blind that the "divinely authenticated and highly structured dogmatic faith," intended for them by Christ, cannot, if cogently and contemporaneously presented, penetrate their minds?

The success of Fr. John Courtney Murray, S.J., in the limited field of political theory, and that of Jacques Maritain, a Christian philosopher proposing absolute truth for our times, indicates that the audience is there if we will but face the obvious difficulties involved in attempting to present the faith to them.

Might not the answer for our failure to produce the impact of a Tillich and a Niebuhr lie in our theologians' reluctance to launch out in a field where they know they may make mistakes, thus exposing

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themselves to the cries and threats of their own household . . . ? Might not our thinkers be guided more by fear of error (or more precisely the reprobation that follows error) than a thirst for the discovery of truth?

SEMINARIAN

Washington, D. C.

College of Business

EDITOR: Fr. Richard E. Mulcahy, S.J., in his "Why a Business College?" (AM. 1/11), bases his case for business schools on the "balanced" curriculum of the University of San Francisco's Business College, "similar to the balanced programs . . . in other business-administration schools across the country."

What is being "balanced"? The USF student takes no literature, no fine arts, no history (except a 3-hour course in economic history), no classical or modern language, no physical science, no biological science, 5 hours of "practical" math and two hours of "practical" political science. Is he supposed to fill these gaps with his two 2-hour electives?

By Fr. Mulcahy's own definition, the ideal businessman needs *culture, perspec-*

tive and imagination. He gets these by studying "fine arts, literature and history." Where? Not at USF, and not at most of the other business schools whose curricula I have studied. . . .

I don't quarrel with the existence of business schools. They offer a training in the skills of business which fulfils a need within our society. But they do not offer an *education*. They do not educate in the fundamental disciplines of the humanities, the social sciences, the physical sciences and the natural sciences, nor are they equipped to do so. Let them stop trying to defend themselves in the name of "liberal education." . . .

All students need a balanced curriculum. But any real balance must be between courses that educate, and courses that train for a job. Let us see to it that this balance is restored.

DAVID H. BATTENFELD
Asst. Prof. of English

John Carroll University
Cleveland, Ohio

EDITOR: The reason the University of San Francisco business-administration curriculum was mentioned was to show that the

business-administration curriculum was composed of courses from business administration and liberal arts. It was not claimed that the program was perfect. If Prof. Battenfeld feels we require too much philosophy and theology, that is another question. . . .

It is not correct that the USF student takes no literature; he has six units of introduction to composition and literature and two units of advanced composition. It is not correct that he takes no history. Besides the three-hour economic-history course noted by the professor, the student also takes a two-hour course in American economic history; and, as mentioned in the article, history is brought into the various business-administration courses.

I agree with Prof. Battenfeld's conclusion that all students need a balanced curriculum. I do not accept, however, his dichotomy between courses that educate and courses that train for a job. There is no reason why these two features cannot be combined in the one course.

RICHARD E. MULCAHY, S.J.
University of San Francisco
San Francisco, Calif.

Wrong Horse

EDITOR: Re your Comment, "Call Off the Press" (2/8), it seems to me "we made international fools of ourselves" by betting our money on the wrong horse rather than by allowing our failure to be publicized. As I understand it, the Army Jupiter-C might have had the Explorer satellite in orbit over a year ago if Government officials hadn't decided to put their money on the much more complex Vanguard project.

Believe me, I am not interested in defending our press, which has shown alarming inabilities along the lines of self-restraint and objectivity. But this, I believe, is one instance where the fault lies deeper.

GEORGE J. BURGER JR.
San Carlos, Calif.

Readers Write

EDITOR: In your editorial reaction to a letter (1/11, p. 406) about the deplorable aspects of Unesco, you seem to use the old Cyrano technique: I, myself, can top you in describing the monstrosity that is my nose. Unlike the wounded Cyrano, however, you do not.

To say it would serve no good purpose to so do, appears to me to deny the fundamental purpose of journalism—to inform readers.

E. MULLANEY
New York, N. Y.

Loyola University Press, 3445 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago 13

The Wagner Housing Act

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by Timothy L. McDonnell, S.J.

This is a study of the evolution of a plan for social reform from its genesis to its enactment as a federal law. Hitherto unpublished materials from the White House files of President Roosevelt, the office files of Senator Robert F. Wagner and of various agencies of the Federal Government and pressure groups, correlated with factual data supplied in interviews with the experts who drafted the legislation, bring to light a new viewpoint of the New Deal philosophy and manifest the tactics and the art of politics. The account of the struggle within the administration to control the development of a public-housing policy, a multimillion dollar financial plan, and a new agency of the Federal Government brings to the pages of this book the words and deeds of many colorful leaders of the New Deal, especially Roosevelt, Wagner, Ickes, and Morgenthau.

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Current Comment

Toward Arab Unity?

Arab unity has finally become something more than a catchword. The worn-out slogan took on a little more reality on Feb. 14 as two Middle East nations announced they were following the lead of Syria and Egypt. Jordan and Iraq were merging into a Federal State just as, two weeks previously, their twin rivals had formed the United Arab Republic.

Union between the adjoining Hashemite Kingdoms of Jordan and Iraq is quite a natural development. All the same, their merger probably would never have taken place had not Egypt and Syria first moved toward federation. Kings Hussein of Jordan and Feisal of Iraq were forced to act, if only to counter the effect the United Arab Republic would have on the rest of the Middle East, including their own subjects.

The trend toward Arab unity has thus paradoxically sharpened an already existing cleavage between two forces in the Middle East. It pits anew the neutralism of Nasser against the pro-Westernism of the rulers of Jordan and Iraq. Meanwhile, equally pro-Western Saud of Saudi Arabia remains aloof from both.

Will the kings of the Middle East prove to be the rallying force of Arab nationalism now being expressed in this trend toward federation? Or will President Nasser? Should the unpredictable Arabs give the Egyptian the nod, Western interests in the area are not likely to fare too well. If leadership falls to the kings, these interests have a better chance. Hence the concern of the West, as the two rival federations begin to compete for Arab allegiance.

Foreign-Aid Economics

So much stress is put upon the political, strategic and humanitarian aspects of foreign aid that it is a bit unusual to find a brief factual analysis of its purely economic aspects. Such a study is needed. Opponents of U. S. assistance abroad lay immense stress on its alleged

irrationality from the dollar standpoint. For an expert's look at the business side of foreign aid, therefore, we recommend a little paper of 25 pages prepared by Brookings economist Robert E. Asher.

Under the title *The Foreign Aid Expenditures of the United States* (Brookings Institution, Washington 6, D. C. Single copy, free), the author examines the impact of the foreign-aid program, 1) on the American economy, 2) on world trade and 3) on the economies of recipient countries. He points out that, while our aid may in some instances hurt U. S. businesses, it has helped to expand the level of economic activity abroad. This, in turn, has increased demand for the goods and services of this country.

Foreign aid operates, therefore, as a lubricant to world trade generally. It has enabled recipient countries to meet critical challenges to their economies, in whose stability we have a vital stake. In sum, foreign aid, despite its critics, has taken its place in our national economy as a useful tool for the well-being of the entire free world.

The Rival in Indonesia

As Sukarno headed home from a visit to Japan on Feb. 15, he made what may well turn out to be the understatement of 1958. "There is no cause," he said, "for alarm or anxiety. Like any other country Indonesia has its ups and downs." While we admire the Indonesian President's sang-froid, we cannot imagine that he was untouched by the news he had just heard. Back home, a rebel group had just set up a rival Government for all of Indonesia on the island of Sumatra. Despite Jakarta's charge of treason, the revolutionaries, by all accounts, meant to stay in business.

The grievances of Indonesia's rebel movement are by this time well known. Most of its leaders come from the outlying islands which have long been denied a fair return on their economic resources by the Sukarno Government. Moreover, they are fed up with the President's program of "guided democracy," which has provided a protective

shield for the alarming growth of Communist influence in Indonesia.

What is not too well known is the deeply Christian and/or Muslim background of the areas where the rebel movement is strongest. The focal point of the opposition to Sukarno and his "guided democracy" is Sumatra, an island which has one of Indonesia's largest concentrations of Christians.

There are in all some 3.5 million Christians in the country; of these roughly one-fifth are Catholics. As Marguerite Harmon Bro writes in *Indonesia: Land of Challenge*, they are "characterized by high literacy, initiative in matters of health and social welfare and concern for the whole of the country." Along with a high proportion of the more numerous Muslim population, the Christians of Indonesia seem to be proving that concern today.

Gallant Free Berlin

The mayor of West Berlin was in our midst recently to bring us up to date on that incomparable showcase of the free world. Our visitor was Willy Brandt, 44, youthful successor to the late Ernst Reuter. Brandt was invited to the United States by the American Council on Germany for the purpose of giving, so to speak, a progress report.

And progress there is to report. Since the end of the airlift in the summer of 1949, Berlin has prospered. Though isolated geographically from West Germany and remote from its sources of raw materials and power, as well as from its customers, this beleaguered metropolis has quadrupled its production. Unemployment has dropped from a high of 300,000 to 40,000 employables. As a result, West Berlin is now 87 per cent self-supporting.

Reconstruction has followed the same pace. 110,000 new dwellings have been constructed, while two universities and other cultural institutions flourish.

Instead of being a stagnant pool of humans caught in the dead center of world politics, Berlin is an economic miracle—and much more besides. It is a political beacon, watched hopefully by the enslaved peoples to the East. As Oberbuergermeister Brandt puts it, Berlin, by its very existence, is a source of permanent crisis in Eastern Europe.

At a farewell luncheon in his honor

in New York on Feb. 17, Berlin's representative stressed the "common task" that links his city with the United States. That task is work for the freedom and unity of Europe. Berlin is doing its part with vigor and distinction.

Georges Rouault

Some seven years ago Georges Rouault, world-famous painter, lithographer and poet, attended the showing of a film featuring his dramatic series of paintings, *Miserere*. On this occasion all Paris honored him as a genius—one of the few great religious painters of our time—and as a Catholic. The Holy Father created him a Knight of the Order of St. Gregory. From that time until his recent death on Feb. 13, M. Rouault never left his house except to attend Mass at St. Germain-des-Prés.

A vast amount will doubtless be written about his work. Some day, too, we may have the published record of his inimitable reminiscing conversations. In recent years Rouault attained an immense popularity, and reproductions of his masterpieces are in countless albums, while his originals are eagerly sought after by galleries and museums. Practically every high-school boy or girl knows *The Old King*, *Self-Portrait*, *The Suffering Christ* and *Clowns*.

In his own original way, Georges Rouault has moved countless souls to compunction and to tears. Such is the tradition of great Christian art. The Church, as the Church, has always been ready to take risks, to encourage hardness and originality, in her eager desire to stir men's hearts, to make our faith vivid. Such, too, is the spirit of her encyclicals.

Yet here is a curious feature. Despite all this acclaim, Georges Rouault, so far as we know, was never employed to do any work—painting or glass—for any Catholic church or institution. We admire the boldly creative artist in the classes, we praise him in our writings, but when it comes to outright commissions, what patron will take the risk?

We have no further conclusions to draw from this, nor any further suggestions. But when we complain of the Church's lack of impact on our age, we might ask ourselves whether the over-cautions are really doing her the greatest service.

Uncle Sam, Banker

Occasionally one still meets a rugged individualist who argues that the country is going to the dogs because, sir, "there's too much government in business and not enough business in government." For such as he, especially if afflicted with high blood pressure, a recent report of the National Bureau of Economic Research on Government banking activities is *not* recommended reading. The study shows Uncle Sam to be so deeply involved in the business of making and guaranteeing loans that we now have in the country "a second financial system."

From 1917 to 1953, according to the report, the cumulative total of Government lending and loan insurance operations was \$138.7 billion. Beneficiaries were farmers and businessmen, war veterans and homeowners, foreign governments and corporations. In 1953 Government agencies held about 20 per cent of farm mortgage credit, and were guaranteeing 40 per cent of all outstanding housing mortgage debt. Most of the programs are paying their own way but, except for the Export-Import Bank, the profit is too small to render the operations attractive to private lenders. Farmers and businessmen who couldn't qualify for private financing turned out to be the poorest risks.

The bureau's report, entitled *Federal Lending and Loan Insurance*, is critical of the lack of coordination among Government lending activities, especially the lack of coordination with over-all fiscal policy and the credit policy of the Federal Reserve. Future reform efforts in this field will very likely be directed more toward assuring this coordination than to getting the Government out of the banking business.

Shorter Work-Week

Should the present recession be more prolonged than the Administration expects, one probable effect will be growing pressure for a shorter work-week. With the exception of war periods, this pressure has been present for the past quarter-century, generated during the pre-World War II era by widespread unemployment, and after the war by swift technological change.

The fact that there has been no gene-

ral, headline-catching drive for shorter hours of work tends to obscure the steady progress that has been made in that beguiling direction. Two years ago, after a comprehensive study, the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that in 17 major cities about 1 worker in 6 enjoyed a standard work-week of less than 40 hours. Somewhat surprisingly, a larger percentage of white-collar workers, who are in short supply these days and mostly unorganized, was on a 35- or 37-hour week than were workers in manufacturing. Except in the rubber, printing, brewing and garment industries, the 40-hour week was still standard in manufacturing, though the shorter work-week had made some inroads in baking, newspaper publishing, coal mining, longshoring and other industries.

Since fear of unemployment rather than a desire for leisure seems to be the main factor influencing union demands for shorter hours, the course of the recession will largely determine what happens over the next few years. If the number of the jobless drops below 3 million and stays there, the progress toward fewer hours of work will continue its slow but steady pace. There will be no dramatic, wholesale shift to a 35-hour week.

Lay Congress Texts

The Catholic press gave excellent coverage to the great second Congress of the Lay Apostolate that met in Rome last October. For space reasons, however, many diocesan newspapers were unable to publish the full texts of some of the most significant talks.

Apostolic Perspectives, a quarterly journal "devoted to the apostolate of the Church," has rendered a valuable service in gathering within its covers some of the best of these addresses. In its Fall-Winter issue this young publication, now in its second year, publishes not only the Pope's own address but also the paper of Archbishop Montini on "The Mission of the Church," that of Msgr. Gérard Philips on "The Apostolic Vocation of the Laity" and that of Bishop Manuel Larraín of Talca, Chile, on "The Growth of the Christian Life in the Layman Today" (see "Program for Latin America," *AM*, 10/26/57, p. 102).

An introductory article by editor Vincent J. Giese puts these key texts in the

perspective of the "immense effort at incarnating Christ in all the aspects of the temporal order." *Apostolic Perspectives* is available through Box 181, Notre Dame, Indiana (\$2 yearly. \$1 per copy).

ILO-Vatican Relations

The International Labor Organization, founded in 1919 to promote social justice in industry, has long enjoyed good relations with the Vatican. This friendship has stood it in good stead at

certain moments of its history. For instance, the ILO treasures the tribute accorded it in 1954 when Pope Pius XII said that the ILO "has not tried to represent one social class alone, or to become the vehicle of any single trend." This testimony was helpful last year in answering criticisms directed against the ILO by certain employer groups in this country.

These cordial relations continue. On Feb. 14 ILO Director General David A. Morse was received in audience by the Holy Father. He was accompanied by

Rev. Joseph Joblin, S.J., ILO's Catholic-liaison aide.

It was announced before the audience that the subject of automation would probably be among the matters discussed. The Holy Father has spoken at least twice on this subject in the past year. The ILO has itself been making studies on the impact of automation on the living and working conditions of employes. A bond of mutual interest in human welfare thus unites the ILO with the Holy See. Other world organizations might follow ILO's example.

Marine Corps "Brutality"

The past two years have been dismal ones for the United States Marines.

Beginning with the so-called "death march" of March, 1956, in which six Parris Island trainees drowned, and continuing through a series of court martials, now being concluded in Japan, involving the mistreatment of prisoners by Marine guards, the traditions and training methods of the corps have been under severe attack and the prestige of the corps has been seriously diminished.

Some of the charges brought against the Marine Corps during this time, by individual trainees and by civilians, may have been, as some marines claimed, the product of "momism," a desire to coddle and overprotect the trainee. Others, however, are too serious and establish too definite a pattern to be dismissed so lightly.

That the Marine Corps drill instructor was permitted far too much authority seems to have been proven by the "death march" and the investigation of training practices that followed. That it was also a mistake to permit the drill instructor to strike trainees and to employ disciplinary measures that too often bordered on sadism seems now to have been demonstrated—if, indeed, it needed to be demonstrated at all—by the brutality practiced in the Sasebo, Kyushu, naval brig.

The dozen or so marines convicted of maltreating prisoners did not indulge in such practices without having precedent for them. Somewhere in their military careers they were given to understand that almost any method was justified in the name of producing a "tough" fighting man or, presumably, in the name of "reforming" prisoners. Somewhere their immediate superiors had gotten the same idea. Where else, in most cases, but on the drill fields and barrack squares of Parris Island, their common training ground?

Nothing can absolve these men from their per-

sonal moral responsibility. They are, however, as much the victims of a misguided training policy as were the six trainees who died in the ill-fated night march.

There seems to be a theory that the drill instructor must be made into a demigod and endowed with powers permitted no other American, including his commanding officer, in order to produce a marine capable of surviving, and winning, on the battlefield. Such a theory simply does not hold water.

The Army's paratroopers are fully as hardened and as combat-ready as the Marines. The bomber crews of the Strategic Air Command and some Navy surface, submarine and air crews are subject, year in and year out, to a more grueling test of skill and physical and mental stamina than is the peacetime marine. Yet none of these forces has found it necessary to crack men over the skull with swagger sticks or force them to suspend themselves over a bared bayonet to make them "tough" or "combat-ready."

The American fighting man has little interest in military glory. With few exceptions, he serves only to protect a way of life he believes superior. He intends to put his uniform aside at the earliest possible moment. Because he is what he is, a free man and not a slave, he demands of his superiors a higher type of leadership than has ever been required of any military leaders in history.

The swagger stick and the bayonet are contradictions, not the instruments, of such leadership. They are the tools of men who are, or who think they are, deficient in the moral, mental and physical qualities demanded of leaders.

The Marine Corps has within its ranks some of the finest officers and noncommissioned officers available to any of the armed services. It has only to use those men properly to root out once and for all the training practices that have, within the past two years, brought disgrace upon the corps.

WILLIAM V. KENNEDY

MR. KENNEDY writes on military affairs for AMERICA.

Canada Goes to the Polls

From Dawson City in the Yukon to Placentia Bay on Newfoundland's chilly coasts, political candidates (pushing dog teams and door bells) are beating the bushes and the snow drifts for votes in Canada's election campaign. Voting day is March 31.

Ever since John Diefenbaker's Conservatives beat the Liberals in a photo finish last June (Cons. 113, Lib. 106, Cooperative Commonwealth Federation 25, Social Credit 19, Indep. 2), another election was just a question of time. Mr. Diefenbaker feels that now is the acceptable time. Nor is it difficult to see why. Mounting unemployment and trade deficits indicate that the zoom has gone out of Canada's economic boom. A skilled practitioner in the art of electoral "brinkmanship," Mr. Diefenbaker called the vote late enough for his Government to have had a chance to prime the slumping economy, not so late that he can't blame the preceding Liberal regime for the recession.

For several months now, Canadians have been watching the war of nerves on Ottawa's Parliament Hill, and they have been fascinated by what they saw: a minority Government craving defeat in a Commons vote in order to call a quick election; a Liberal opposition (awaiting a leadership convention to replace Louis St. Laurent) criticizing the Government but refusing to vote against it.

The Conservatives walked this political tightrope for about three months, managing meanwhile to ease taxation, increase social-security benefits and fatten grants to the Provinces. The disorganized Liberals couldn't very well vote against Santa Claus; they did maintain he should let them see his bank book. But the Government, judging that just now depression-shy Canadians are more interested in gift packages than price tags, refused to bring down a budget. There would be plenty of time to add the bills after counting the votes.

In January, Lester B. Pearson, fresh from his Nobel Prize trip to Oslo, entered the House as the new Liberal leader. Thereupon the Government easily defeated his motion that the Liberals immediately form an administration without an election, and scoffed that the maneuver was a brazen attempt by the outs to "crawl in the back door to power when the electorate had just kicked them out the front."

Finally the Prime Minister, tired of sitting on a political time-bomb and eager to test his strength at the hustings, told a tense House that "obstruction and delays" had made his Government's position "intolerable." That said, he confidently announced the dissolution of Parliament and called

FR. MCKENTY, S.J., a Canadian, is watching election developments from his Toronto vantage point.

an election, which U. S. observers will be watching.

Naturally Mr. Diefenbaker expects the Conservative position to be a good deal more tolerable, come March 31. The party's grass-roots organization is still lean and lithe after last June's exhilarating victory. And in Mr. Diefenbaker himself the Tories have a leader with more verve and color than most Canadian politicians display. His opponents have compared him to a political evangelist who tries to run the Commons as a revival meeting. But this intense and rangy westerner, with the roll of the prairies and the bite of the successful criminal lawyer in his voice, did plenty to revive Tory fortunes last June.

The disorganized Liberals are counting on "Mike" Pearson's glittering reputation to pull them together and bring the vote in. Mr. Pearson is bearing down hard on the unemployment crisis ("Tory times are hard times") and deteriorating Canada-United States trade relations ("The Government tried to talk up to the United States and was slapped down"). While the Conservatives have not gone as far as their Tory predecessors in 1911 ("No truck or trade with the Yankees"), the Liberals charge that the publicized 15-percent diversion of trade from the United States to England has merely retarded the flow of U. S. capital into this country and reduced U. S. oil imports from western Canada. To make victory doubly sure, politician Pearson has shined up an old Liberal success formula: more social security (higher baby bonuses, special help for young married couples) coupled with tax reductions.

This is the "Pearson Plan" for winning at least 27 more Liberal seats, thus giving the Liberals (now 106) a bare majority in the 265-seat Commons. Since half the Liberal strength now lies in Quebec, many of these seats must be captured in Ontario, where the prospects of the disorganized Liberals are none too promising. The Conservatives (now 113) need only 20 more members for a majority. But at least 15 of these would probably have to come from Quebec (a solid Liberal stronghold), where the Conservatives admit they have no French-Catholic leader of any real stature.

Six weeks before the election, most observers feel that Conservative gains won't be sufficient to give them a clear majority. Not so the party faithful. They are confident that their leader's evangelical fervor will assure enough "decisions for Diefenbaker" to sweep them into power.

Whatever happens at the polls on March 31, most Canadians are mixing plenty of politics with their Lenten reading. And no one is sure that the Government in Ottawa on April Fool's day won't be a big surprise.

NEIL MCKENTY

Washington Front

On Bridges, Houses, Highways, Schools

THE RECENT DEATH of Sen. Matthew M. Neely (D., W. Va.), served to focus attention temporarily on the problems and puzzles of the District of Columbia. He was chairman of the Senate District Committee, and, as such, the "mayor" of Washington, just as Congress is often called Washington's "city council." He could long ago have had more prominent posts, but good old Bible-quoting "Matt" Neely, of whom I was very fond (on occasion he lectured me from both the Old and New Testaments), had an almost religious sense of duty.

He left, however, not by his fault, a legacy of unsolved problems to his successor, Sen. Alan Bible (D., Nev.), another dedicated man with a symbolic name. Take bridges, for example. The need for another bridge over the Potomac is acute, and four years ago Congress authorized the District Commissioner to build one. Then the fun began. Where should it be? To the exasperated non-citizens of Washington it seemed as if every Monday morning an old site was rejected and a new one suggested. So—after three years, someone suggested, not a bridge, but a tunnel. There we stand now, suspended between a six-lane bridge and a four-lane tunnel. An enterprising reporter found that it took Congress just 99 years to build Memorial Bridge.

For years the arterial highways into Washington from the north have been clogged by trucks and the cars of

ever-increasing suburbanites. Enterprising Maryland began building Route (pronounced rout, of course) 240. All went well until 240 approached the District line. How would it join up into Washington? Three plans are proposed, all objectionable to some people. Will it be 99 years again? A wag suggested: let's just have no join-up at all.

Under the Federal Urban Renewal plan, Washington started to stamp out two notorious slums, one in southeast and one in the near northwest. But a new word has stymied it: "relocation." Where will we locate the people, mostly Negroes, who are ousted? Washington's boundaries are limited by the Constitution; and besides, it has its Negro ghettos. Maryland will not take the people to be relocated, nor will Virginia.

Shortly after the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, Washington's public schools began to integrate (our Catholic schools had already integrated two years before). But—again, Negro families pour into the city at the rate of some thousands a year. They come mostly from backward areas of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. Their children are illiterate. What to do with them? It's up to Congress to answer that one.

Senator Bible has other problems: a polluted Potomac on one side, and on the other an Anacostia River, a sluggish open sewer; an antiquated (anno 1868) sewer system which carries both sewage and flow-off water, with consequent clogging and overflowing; and many other unsolved problems. A new stadium? A new cultural center? Modernized schools? Well, we have 99 years to wait.

WILFRID PARSONS

Underscorings

"THE HUNGERS OF MANKIND" is the theme of an institute to be presented by the National Council of Catholic Women, March 14-16, at the World Affairs Center, UN Plaza, New York City. Panels and discussions will deal with religion, human rights, food, health, population, education, etc. The institute is being held in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. For details write NCCW, 1312 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

►THE CHURCH IN GUAM and the Marianas is the subject of *The Phoenix Rises*, by Fr. Julius Sullivan, O.F.M. Cap. The story of this mission is interestingly sketched from its Jesuit beginnings in 1668, through the periods when it was staffed by Augustinian Recollects, Spanish and German Franciscans, up to the present, when it is entrusted to American Capuchins. Guam was the

staging ground of desperate fighting between U. S. and Japanese forces during the Pacific war. The phoenix-like rise of the Church from the ruins of that struggle give the book its title (Seraphic Mass Ass'n., New York. 231 pp. \$2.50).

►THE AQUINAS LECTURE of Marquette University will be given this year by Henry Margenau, the Eugene Higgins professor of physics and natural philosophy at Yale University. Dr. Margenau, an authority on the philosophical foundations of physics, will speak on "Thomas and the Physics of 1958: A Confrontation." The lecture, the 24th in the annual series, will be held in Marquette's Union ballroom on March 2.

►GEN. CARLOS P. ROMULO, Philippines Ambassador to the United States, will receive The Creighton University's 1958 Distinguished Service Award for his work in the field of diplo-

macy. He was selected for the award by more than 500 alumni and student members of the Creighton chapter of Alpha Sigma Nu.

►DEBATERS from 30 U. S. colleges and universities will meet at the University of Notre Dame March 7-8 for the sixth annual Notre Dame National Invitational Debate Tournament. Participants will include leading Catholic institutions, the service academies for the Army, Navy, Air Force and Merchant Marine, State and private colleges.

►THE MONITOR, San Francisco archdiocesan weekly, celebrates its centenary this year. In an episcopal letter on the occasion, Archbishop John J. Mitry noted that when the *Monitor* first appeared, the archdiocese had only 14 parishes and two parish schools (as against 234 parishes and 138 parochial schools today). To found a paper in these circumstances, said the archbishop, "might indicate the importance attached to the press apostolate by our pioneer fathers."

C. K.

Editorials

The Administration's Dilemma

AS THE COLDEST FEBRUARY in a long time dragged to a close, the Administration's concern over international trends was matched by a growing anxiety over the state of the domestic economy.

Throughout the month the news from the home front was uniformly bad. In the week ending February 8 department store sales ran 8 per cent behind last year. Steel output continued in the doldrums. Shiny, chrome-covered 1958 models cluttered auto salesrooms. In January the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production stood 9.5 per cent below its high in December, 1956. This was reflected in unemployment figures, which jumped 1.1 million over December's 3.4 million. To make matters worse, there seemed to be no sign of a pickup anywhere. Had the time come for the Government to wheel up its big anti-recession guns—a hefty increase in public spending, sizable cuts in taxes—or would a large-scale assault on drooping sales and production be premature?

The nature of the dilemma was obvious. If the recession had started to feed on itself, with falling sales generating unemployment and unemployment begetting still lower sales, failure to intervene promptly might result in a rather severe slump. On the other hand, if the recession had already touched bottom and the economy was in process of righting itself, massive Government intervention might lay the basis for another spurge of inflation.

On February 12 the President announced his decision. For the present the Administration was standing pat. "I believe," said Mr. Eisenhower, "that we have had most of our bad news on the unemployment front." He noted that the economy remained fundamentally sound, that growth factors were still present, and that

the Administration had already taken several steps to encourage recovery. He was so confident of the future as to venture a prediction that March would see "the start of a pick-up in job opportunities." And that, he concluded, "should mark the beginning of the end of the downturn in our economy."

Though some very able economists, including Arthur F. Burns, think that the President is overly optimistic, one can argue that he has chosen the less dangerous horn of the dilemma. In his *Economy in the National Government*, Sen. Paul H. Douglas observes that "in the midst of the muddy stream of events" it is difficult to decide the timing of big shifts in fiscal policy. Some economists think that when unemployment exceeds three per cent of the work-force, governments should instantly switch to deficit spending. Senator Douglas disagrees. He believes that if such a policy were followed, the budget would almost always be unbalanced. In the following paragraph he states his own position:

I submit as a rough judgment that probably we should not run a government deficit unless unemployment exceeds 8 per cent and, indeed, slightly more than that. When unemployment is between 6 and 8 per cent, the governmental budget should at least balance and therefore be neutral in its effects.

January unemployment was 5.8 per cent of the work-force. It is somewhat higher now. Nevertheless, if Senator Douglas' eight-per-cent figure is a reasonable peril point, the President is clearly justified in waiting a little longer before resorting to drastic action. Meanwhile, the knowledge that he fully intends to act unless conditions improve by April 1 should help to buoy the confidence of consumers and businessmen.

In Public Relations Everything Counts

IN CASE YOU HAVEN'T BEEN ATTENDING to such developments, there has recently sprung up among U. S. Catholics a sharpened new interest in public relations. It is more than a fad—something to dismiss as the passing fancy of a few enterprising young Monsignors here or there in scattered chancery offices. This indubitably growing and professionally guided trend to improve U. S. Catholic PR will, we predict, shortly begin to influence in noticeable ways the entire pattern of our relations with other institutions in American society. In fact, much has already been accomplished. Some will be surprised to learn how far this fruitful new ap-

proach has taken Catholic life out of allegedly isolated frameworks and set it to work within those large areas of our society that up to now have known the "presence" of the Church only on rare and formal occasions. All that is changing rapidly. Three weeks from now, in AMERICA for March 22, we shall present a treatment of the uses of public relations in one of our most vibrant archdioceses. Everyone who is concerned with the future potentialities of PR in the service of the Church will welcome this illuminating article by Archbishop Cushing of Boston.

There is movement everywhere on a broad front in

this important sector of the modern apostolate. Staid Easterners would perhaps expect such new departures in the Midwest, and, as usual, the Midwest is not disappointing them. To mention only the most recent example of public-relations consciousness that has come to our attention, the Bureau of Information of the Archdiocese of Dubuque has just issued a substantial and competent kit, *Outline for Public Relations and Publicity* (Chancery Building, 1100 Bluff St., Dubuque, Ia.). We were pleased to note that the compiler of the Dubuque *Outline* thought highly enough of James M. Shea's AMERICA article, "Lifting the Ivy Curtain" (9/21/57), to include it in his provocative section on public relations.

However, the Midwest has no monopoly in this new-found social dimension of the Church's apostolate to the modern world. New York has not been lagging behind, as we have already (9/21/57, p. 634) taken occasion to notice. The New York Archdiocesan Bureau of Information is one of the hardest-working of such offices in the land. Still another sign of the times is the fact that

a well-attended study-day on public relations and press relations was sponsored recently by the growing Catholic Institute of the Press, whose members, all from the Greater New York area, are employed in that city's network of communications industries.

Let's not expect miracles. It is too much to hope that by next Thursday every telephone switchboard in every Catholic institution will be manned by someone who—when you spend your dime to ask a question—can actually dispense the information you are asking for, or else get you someone who can. We can remember dialing and redialing one of our larger universities one night a few years ago; it took three tries and almost ten minutes before the operator, who had apparently wandered off somewhere for a cup of coffee, picked up the receiver. This is a petty example of bad public relations, but good public relations must ultimately take account even of particulars like this one. In fact, we shall not be able to cope with bigger and more complex questions of our relations with the public unless we recognize that, in this involved business, everything counts.

Catholic Leaders

THE SEARCH FOR CATHOLIC LEADERS is on. Father Cavanaugh's shot has been heard 'round the Catholic world! Suddenly we wake up to find we have no Einsteins, no Oppenheims, no Salks. As the echoes of Father Cavanaugh's rhetorical question reverberate, indignant critics are asking whether we really want to have any Einsteins, Oppenheims and so forth, or else are busily digging into *Who's Who* or the membership of learned societies to prove that we already have outstanding men to our credit.

Are we quite sure what it is we are looking for? The definition of a "leader" is apt to be vague and arbitrary. Someone has defined a leader as a person who is recognized as a leader. That doesn't get us very far. And how do we identify a leader? By what marks do we tell the difference between a statesman and a politician? Moreover, in our contemporary American civilization it cannot be denied that we have ways of "manufacturing" leaders. When someone who has never been heard of before suddenly gets a high and responsible position in Government, he is promptly billed as a paragon of knowledge and efficiency who will now get the country out of its predicament. By that standard, the first thing a would-be Catholic leader should do is to get himself appointed to such a post. But getting there may be a measure of ambition, not of leadership.

The oft-used norm of the number of Catholic names in *Who's Who* is grotesquely inadequate. What can one tell of the sanctity of American Catholics from the number of canonized American-born saints? Frank Sheed once said jocosely that the best way to get started on the road to canonization is to be born in Italy. Similar geographical, national, social and academic accidents are at play in the selection of names that go into any roster of great Americans.

The root of this problem about Catholic leaders is that there is a double standard. What we overlook in the case of other "men of distinction" we do not forgive in a Catholic. For years the Catholic body politic has deliberately played down some of its members who, though "prominent," do not represent in their personal lives the exacting standards that we expect of a practicing Catholic. Members of other groups can be a credit to their race or their religious denomination regardless of their divorces or their public stands on certain moral issues. In their cases, artistic or scholarly or administrative attainments somehow completely overshadow their shortcomings in matters touching personal or public morality. Such is not the case for Catholics. We insist—and who can say we are wrong in doing so?—that a man's public life must be judged by his compliance with the ideals to which he is publicly committed as a Catholic. This costs us a lot of "leaders."

If we are looking for authentic Catholic leaders we couldn't do better than begin at home. For decades without number the Catholic Church in every city or town of any size has been blessed with laymen and clergymen who by any definition of the term deserve to be called leaders. These are the jurists, the medical men, the civic leaders, the welfare workers and others who have exercised a salutary and recognized influence in their communities. These men and women have shown a rare combination of public service, eminence in their professions and conspicuous exemplification of Catholic ideals. What they have lacked has been national recognition. Their name is legion. Why do we not give them the honor that is due them? Perhaps we are afraid that the species will disappear if we begin to notice them. Fortunately for the Church, they remain leaders whether they are recognized by that name or not.

Peace or War in Detroit?

Benjamin L. Masse

EVER SINCE Henry Ford jumped the minimum wage of his employes from \$2 to \$5 a day back in 1914, the auto industry has been making labor-relations news. Not all the news has been good, and not all of it has been made by the employers. As becomes a union representing workers in a free-wheeling, innovating industry, the United Auto Workers has over the years made its share of headlines, too. In their own way, UAW President Walter Reuther and his colleagues are scarcely less imaginative and enterprising than the men who put the nation on wheels and revolutionized the American way of life. The union's 1958 contract demands are only the latest evidence of this.

Consider for a moment the problem the union faced as it set about preparing for negotiations next May.

At home and abroad the nation was in trouble. For the first time since the Soviet Union started the cold war more than a decade ago, the possibility arose—or the fact was finally faced—that the free world might lose it. As the Soviet Sputniks whirled overhead, a mood of urgency succeeded a mood of complacency, and the American people determined, almost as one man, that this shame and this danger must not be. Whatever the cost, the nation had to catch the Communists in the missile race and assure our continued military superiority.

At home the country had just emerged from an exasperating two-year struggle with creeping inflation, only to find itself, with deep frustration, slipping into an unmistakable recession. When the union formulated its demands in December, the auto industry was jogging along at 65 per cent of capacity, and basic steel was producing at only 60 per cent. Unemployment stood at 3.4 million and was spreading. Nevertheless, even though all the economic indicators were pointing downward, people still dreaded further rises in the cost of living. The pains of recession had not wholly banished the fear of inflation.

Nor was this confusing combination of circumstances the full measure of UAW's problem. In drawing up its demands, it had to keep in mind the unfriendly state of public opinion. It had to proceed on the assumption that many people blamed excessive union demands for the steady rise in the price level. And it had to proceed in the chastening knowledge that the McClellan committee hearings have given all labor a black eye.

FR. MASSE, S.J., is AMERICA's industrial-relations editor.

Here was a challenge to test the ingenuity of any union—especially one that only last April had announced militantly that its next contract demands would include a shorter work-week and the "biggest package ever." This is the way the UAW executive board met it.

AIMS AND PHILOSOPHY

The UAW program begins with an assurance that the union is alert to the critical turn in the nation's affairs and intends to conduct itself responsibly. It will be faithful to its guiding philosophy—that "labor must make progress with the community and not at the expense of the community." It believes

that free collective bargaining in a free society within the framework of a free economy can make its maximum constructive contribution only if labor and management accept their joint responsibilities and cooperate in an effort to raise collective bargaining above the level of a struggle between competing economic pressure groups.

The union has, of course, a responsibility to its members, just as management has a responsibility to its stockholders; but in addition to their separate responsibilities, labor and management "have a joint responsibility to the whole of our society," and this responsibility "of necessity transcends in importance" their separate responsibilities.

In discharging their duties, the statement continues, there will inevitably be differences of opinion. Free labor and free management must strive to resolve them in the light of the common good. In practice this means

that collective-bargaining decisions must be based upon economic facts rather than economic power, for only as the power of persuasion replaces the persuasion of power can collective bargaining be made a socially responsible and constructive force.

What then are the pertinent economic facts?

The question to ask is this: why has production fallen and unemployment spread at the very time the nation needs more of everything—more defense, more education, more goods to help our allies and raise living standards in the underdeveloped countries?

"The prime reason for this setback," says UAW, citing *Business Week* for November 9, 1957, "is that capacity has outrun demand." Or as the union phrases it, the economy is in trouble "because industry's productive

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power has outstripped the people's purchasing power, and this serious imbalance is growing."

That is the basic cause of the 1957-58 recession—but it is not the only cause. Washington, UAW charges, contributed to the imbalance by its tight-money policy, and big business has contributed to it by its pricing policies. A few giant corporations, it says, operating in vital sectors of the economy, "have abused their power by raising prices arbitrarily and unjustifiably in defiance of the law of supply and demand."

Given this analysis of the facts, what should be the union's goal in collective bargaining? Obviously, says UAW, the union must seek to restore the balance between production and consumption. It must seek "an expansion of mass purchasing power through higher wages and lower prices." But since auto management has already barred price cuts, the union must seek its goal in other ways. Therefore, it proposes the following "two-package" program.

WAGES, FRINGES, PROFITS

UAW will make a basic economic demand of all employers. This has several parts, the most important being a "general non-inflationary wage increase." This would consist in the extension of the annual automatic productivity increase—the "improvement factor"—which General Motors introduced ten years ago, but with a difference. The present contract sets the productivity increase at 2½ per cent, or 6 cents an hour, whichever is higher. The union claims that over the past decade the actual productivity gain has been 3.9 per cent a year, and that under full-employment conditions it would have been even higher. It wants the improvement factor geared to productivity under full-employment conditions, which would mean from 9 to 13 cents an hour and more. Except for a requested adjustment of some wage inequities, this is the only wage demand.

In the fringe area, UAW wants 1) improvements in the supplemental unemployment benefits program (SUB), 2) improvements in pension benefits and in hospital and medical insurance programs, 3) moving allowance and severance pay for workers affected by plant transfers. The union says the SUB improvements can be paid for from reserves the companies have built up.



In a departure from auto-industry practice, UAW proposes that companies in a more favored economic position share "excess" profits with their workers and customers. The basis for sharing would be the GM bonus plan, under which, over the period 1947-56, that company paid to a group of executives a total of \$635 million, in addition to salaries. This would be the procedure.

First, a part of the profits before taxes equal to 10 per cent of net invested capital would be set aside for the company and its stockholders.

Second, after subtracting foreign earnings from the profits remaining, these would be split three ways: 50 per cent to stockholders and executives; 25 per cent to the workers; and 25 per cent to car buyers. Had the plan been in effect at GM in 1956, this is the way it would have worked out:

1. Profits before taxes	\$1,741,400,000
2. Ten per cent of net capital of \$4.545 billion	\$454,500,000
3. Remainder minus foreign earnings	\$1,142,800,000
4. To stockholders and executives.	\$571,400,000
5. To workers	\$285,700,000
6. To customers as rebates	\$285,700,000

In this division of "excess" profits, each GM worker would have received \$550, and each car buyer, \$56. How all this would have worked out after taxes, the union doesn't say.

INDUSTRY REACTIONS

The Big Three in autos—GM, Ford and Chrysler—reacted immediately and sharply to the UAW program. They agreed it was terrible. Harlow H. Curtice, GM president, said the union's demands were "extravagant," "extreme" and "unrealistic." They would destroy public confidence in an economic upturn. As for the "radical scheme" of divvying up profits, it was "foreign to the concepts of the American free-enterprise system."

Ford's board chairman, Ernest R. Breech, was less subtle in charging that Mr. Reuther was bent on subverting the capitalistic order. After rejecting the union's "unrealistic" program, with its "kill-the-profits" proposal, Mr. Breech hoped that the UAW president would "eventually abandon his determination to twist and manipulate the American private-enterprise system into something more to his liking than it now evidently is."

The president of Chrysler, L. L. Colbert, was less expansive. He contented himself with emphasizing a point common to all the replies—that the union's demands were inflationary.

Having learned from experience that family squabbles in the rough-and-tumble auto industry are no place for well-meaning outsiders, this writer has no intention of becoming involved—not at this feeling-out stage anyway—in what could develop into one of Detroit's historic rows. What follows will be merely some observations and a question or two.

The nature and objectives of collective bargaining in a democracy have rarely been more eloquently and correctly described than they are in the UAW state-

ment. The passages setting forth the duties of labor and management read almost like a papal allocution. If this is only public relations, as has been charged, it is excellent public relations. These truths, which reflect the sound, natural-law basis of the U. S. labor movement, cannot be repeated too often.

Life being what it is in the business world, it is perhaps too much to expect that group relationships will always be dominated by reason to the exclusion of power considerations. Nevertheless, that is the ideal, and the day we cease to honor it and strive for it, that day we are lost. Power in itself is not bad, of course. In the service of the right and just, it is a great and necessary good. Sometimes, as today, it stands between the world and barbarism. What is wrong, and is always to be condemned, is to substitute power for justice; and this happens too often today in the business world, and it happens too often, also, in industrial relations.

The trouble is, of course, that reason has its limitations, and that men of good-will, faced with the complexities of life, can differ honestly, not only about the economic facts, but about economic theory as well. It is, for instance, easy to see already that the UAW and the Big Three are far apart in assessing the economic facts, and even farther apart in their economic theorizing. Like most unions, UAW believes that there is nothing like a good dose of purchasing power to cure a recession; and like most employers, the Big Three can't think of anything worse when production is falling than to increase costs by raising wages. This is a perennial argument and, judging by the way economists divide over it, one that will never be settled. Yet there would seem to be some ideal balance among prices, wages and profits, within each industry, and among the different industries, that collective bargaining should strive to achieve.

WHAT IS OUT OF LINE?

Perhaps Walter Reuther was right last August when he suggested that industry should cut the price of autos; and maybe the industry was right, too, in replying that the union ought to forget new wage demands and live with the old contract a while longer. It could be that auto prices and profits are out of line with prices and profits in other sectors of the economy, and that the wages of auto workers are too far ahead of the wages of less favored workers in the country.

Something analogous to this was in the mind of Richard Gray when at the AFL-CIO Building Trades Department convention last December he proposed that construction unions declare a one-year moratorium on wage increases. The veteran union official argued that the housing industry and the construction unions were pricing themselves out of a market. The AFL-CIO rejected the Gray suggestion with scarcely a dissenting voice. Since during the postwar period management in the more profitable industries has too seldom shown any restraint in exploiting a favorable situation, President George Meany could argue persuasively that a wage freeze would help only employers. Nevertheless, Mr. Gray's difficulty is a real one. The spread between the prosperous and the less prosperous industries may

be growing dangerously large. Certainly it is growing too large for the many millions of people in this country who live on fixed or relatively fixed incomes.

This brings up the question of how productivity gains ought to be parceled out among owners, management, workers and consumers—and with that question we back gingerly into UAW's profit-sharing proposal.

PROFIT SHARING

It is hard to say which came as the greater surprise, the UAW proposal or industry's reaction to it.

Historically, American unions have not only shown little interest in profit-sharing plans; they have tended to regard them with hostility and suspicion. To old-line labor leaders, profit sharing was an employer gimmick for keeping wages low and unions out. Though in recent years there has been some change in this attitude—union leaders have actually addressed meetings of the Council of Profit Sharing Industries—it still came as a shock to see UAW, with its militant traditions, proposing a profit-sharing plan. Indeed, some observers refused to believe that the union was serious. They suspected the resourceful Mr. Reuther of employing profit sharing as a gambit to throw management off balance and distract its attention from his real objectives.

If this was the UAW strategy, it worked astonishingly well. Reading the alarmed reactions of Ford and GM, one might suspect that in proposing profit sharing the union was plotting the subversion of private enterprise. To the 10,000 or more U. S. companies that practice profit sharing, this reaction was so disconcerting that some of their spokesmen rushed forward to set the record straight. Charles G. Herbruck of Lincoln Electric, whose profit-sharing plan is famous, flatly denied that there was any socialism at all in profit sharing. Expanding this theme, Joseph B. Meier, administrative vice president of the Council of Profit Sharing Industries, said that "profit sharing does not nurture socialism, but combats it." It is grass-roots capitalism. "The workers under profit sharing," he affirmed, "are going to believe in the free-enterprise system."

Why, then, did the industry react so apoplectically to the union proposal?

For two reasons, apparently. First, the union suggested that consumers be cut in on the deal. Second, the union not only took the initiative in proposing profit sharing but had the temerity to suggest a concrete plan for carrying it out. To Ford and GM this was a dangerous departure from the pattern of collective bargaining. It was a radical invasion of management's rights. The union's job, they said, is to bargain for the employees it represents, not for salaried employees, shareholders and customers. Mr. Breech charged that by expanding the area of bargaining, Walter Reuther was striking "at the very roots of the economic system that has made and kept America strong."

These are very serious charges. If true, they support a belief popular in some parts of the press that Walter Reuther is almost as dangerous as Nikita Khrushchev. Are the charges true?

As has already been said, there is nothing socialistic

or radical about profit sharing. Neither is there anything socialistic or radical about offering customers a rebate. If there is, then the founder of the Ford Motor Company was a Socialist and a radical long before Walter Reuther. Way back in 1915, Henry Ford announced that if the company sold more than 300,000 cars, he would refund \$50 to every buyer. The company sold 308,213 Fords that year and Mr. Ford paid out \$15.5 million in rebates.

The issue then is not the *substance* of UAW's supplementary economic demands, but its *right* to advance them. Here the industry may possibly have a point.

The question of rebates to customers need not delay us. The union did not propose this as a bargaining demand, but only as a suggestion. It concedes that it has no right to bargain for customers.

Has it a right to demand profit sharing for workers?

If there is question of a moral right, a right founded on the natural law, the answer is no. Workers have a right to a just wage, which imposes a correlative duty on employers. But once employers have discharged this duty, they have no further obligation in justice to their employees. It is true that in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* Pope Pius XI mentioned several ways in which the wage contract might be liberalized, and one of them was profit sharing. It is evident, however, that the Pope was not talking in terms of an obligation. In the present condition of human society, he wrote, "We consider it *more advisable* . . ." that the wage contract be modified in various ways. Employers are not morally bound to follow that advice.

This does not mean, though, that in the course of bargaining workers may not toss a profit-sharing proposal on the table, and argue over it. It means only that they cannot demand a share in profits as a strict right. They cannot insist that the employer grant it, much less can they strike to win it.

In what sense UAW is "demanding" profit sharing is not entirely clear. Is this merely a bargaining proposal, a counter-offer to industry's suggestion that the union show its interest in curbing inflation by going along with the old contract? Or is it a claim in justice to share in profits? If it is the latter, UAW is morally off base. If the former, it is challenging not management's rights but its imagination and intelligence. In that case the industry, for all the reasons advanced in behalf of profit sharing, would be well advised to discuss the proposal. Management can make as clear as it wants that it is under no compulsion to consider profit sharing, and that if profit sharing comes to the auto industry, it will come solely by grace of management. Having thus vindicated its rights, let it sit down and do some bargaining.

For profit sharing, though no panacea, is a highly meritorious proposal. It could conceivably advance the search for some formula that would put wage bargaining on a scientific, almost automatic basis. Toward this goal the auto industry has already made considerable progress with its cost-of-living adjustment and its annual improvement factor. Might not profit sharing be an answer to the continuing dispute over how big the annual productivity increase ought to be?

It is interesting to speculate on what would happen if the industry agreed to extend the present contract, with some minor improvements in fringe benefits, and then sweetened the pot with an offer to negotiate a reasonable profit-sharing plan. If UAW rejected that package and struck in protest, my guess is that it could count on very little public support. And if in addition to this the heads of the Big Three decided to shave prices a bit, any one of them could run for President.

Our Mousepiece



Col. Helmer J. Mouse, wealthy musanitarian and publisher of the largest newspaper in Mousedom, joined the lemmings sometime yesterday.

Police presumed suicide, when they found the wealthy mouse's tracks leading to the lemming-way at 7:43 this morning, after the tycoon failed to return from a board meeting

in the Fruitroom.

He had been despondent over recent disclosures of the Navy's intention to send yeast up in a satellite, sources close to the family disclosed. Friends recalled Colonel Mouse's formal protests when the cats sent a dog up in their satellite.

Long-time president of SPCV (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Vegetables), Colonel Mouse devoted much of his time to publicizing the terrible plight of vegetables.

A strict cheesetarian, Colonel Mouse had once written a personal editorial, which has become a classic in SPCV circles. "Potatoes are being mashed," he declared, "peppers ground, carrots chopped and beets diced by the thousands. Millions of blameless peas are annually shelled in the States of Oregon and Washington alone."

Colonel Mouse, who received his early education in Basement public schools, was a graduate of Pantry, where he majored in waxpaper wrapping. His interest in paper led eventually to the newspaper field. His first position was with the *Mousedom Times*, which employed him as a copy-chewer in 1955. He left newspaper work when the war broke out and distinguished himself in the area of Enemy Detection. Though never decorated by the Army, he once disclosed to intimates that he had personally belled five cats.

Colonel Mouse is survived by his widow and numerous children. The widow, daughter of a prominent string collector, is prostrate in the family hole at Laundry near Furness.

Fulton L. Mouse, publisher of *Mouse*, when finally reached for comment, said: "I refuse to believe that Colonel Mouse's action is attributable to his musanitarian interest in yeast. He was tied to the yeast interest because of his dough." W.T.C.

Dialog with Our Readers



As several thousands of our readers can testify from their own experience, AMERICA recently conducted a survey of its current readership. We sent out to a representative cross section a long and detailed questionnaire which we hoped the recipients would kindly fill out and return. We are still tabulating the results of the survey and making the necessary interpretation of the data. Pending completion of this

work, however, we want to report at least some of the salient aspects of the survey's results.

We wanted, briefly, to know who you are and what you expect to get from AMERICA. Of course, we already had a fair idea of just what your answers would be. Some of you write occasionally to tell us about yourselves and what your reactions are to the things you read in our publication. But have we been "playing by ear"? We had no solid set of statistics on which we could justify our hunches and intuitions. So, after reflection, planning and consultation we sent out the forms which many of you received. Those of you who cooperated with us will, of course, be interested in the results.

We sent forms to 5,246 persons. This is 20% of the 25,000 subscribers whose names and addresses we had on our lists at that time. It is 15% of our (at that time) 35,000 paid circulation. Naturally, we could not send forms to those who get their copies at newsstands or at church doors. Strictly speaking, then, the survey is valid only for the annual subscriber.

The survey was a remarkable success. A total of 2,449 replies were returned, which is an almost 50% response. In the field of market analysis this is an extraordinarily good return, especially considering the time and effort that were required to fill out the spaces. Not only did it assure our survey of a truly representative sampling but, in itself alone, it was proof of your great interest in AMERICA and its mission. We are deeply grateful for this resounding plebiscite.

We already knew, by a painstaking hand-count of our more than 25,000 stencils, that 80% of our non-institutional subscribers are men, while 20% are women. We knew, further, that two-thirds of you are members of the laity while the rest are clergymen or religious men or women. We knew, too, that 75% of you live in urban or suburban areas, while the rest live in what we identified as predominantly rural regions. We knew, finally, your distribution by States. In selecting our test list we tried to maintain these proportions.

Your replies helped us to extend this information. On the basis of the examination thus far completed we find that 77.03% of the laymen are married, with an

average age of 41.6 years for all males. Of the women who replied, 42.29% are married. We have not assembled the data on the number of children in the average family. We know enough already, however, to realize that AMERICA's readers are predominantly young fathers and mothers. It is touching to find, again and again in the replies, the evident interest of young heads of family who have the time and the energy to read a magazine like AMERICA. We know now what we couldn't prove before, that AMERICA is not a leisure-time diversion of some well-to-do citizens established in their careers. It is, on the contrary, the organ for the rising young Catholic elite who are concerned with the real problems of today and who will be heard from in the years ahead. In this we include those who are not college graduates. We learned in the survey that one-third of the readers did not go to college. We are glad to learn that these persons are able, through their reading of AMERICA, to continue their education in an eminently practical way.

That must suffice, for the time being, to answer the question of *who* reads AMERICA. At a later date, we shall have figures about average annual income, mode of vacation and travel and so forth. The second purpose of the survey was to find out *why* you read AMERICA. This is a simple question but the answer is bound to be complex. We thought that a key might be found in ascertaining which of our regular features you regard as most interesting or important. We listed the features and asked you to check your first, second and third choices. The preliminary analysis of the replies allows us to present this table:

Feature	First	Second	Third
Book Review	9.4	9.9	10.1
Current Comment	12.8	17.2	10.5
Correspondence	2.7	5.2	8.2
Editorials	34.2	19.6	10.5
Feature Columns	2.5	4.6	7.5
Feature X	1.4	2.9	4.4
Films (Moirra Walsh)...	.2	.8	1.2
Discs (Francis J. Guentner, S.J.)
Television (J. P. Shanley)4	.4
Theatre (Theophilus Lewis)2	.2	2.5
Underscorings (Charles Keenan, S.J.)	2.3	4.2	2.5
Washington Front (Wilfrid Parsons, S.J.)	4.0	9.6	12.2
The Word (Vincent P. McCorry, S.J.) ...	6.1	3.3	5.6
General Articles	12.2	8.0	9.9
Literature & Arts	3.3	2.9	3.3
No Answer	8.7	11.2	11.2

From this table, compiled by our confrere Father Harold L. Cooper, S.J., it appears that the most popular department is the editorial section. This is closely followed by its cognate feature, Current Comment. Both led, in that order, in the first two columns. In the third-choice column, Editorials and Current Comment were topped only (we were glad to see) by Father Wilfrid Parsons' Washington Front. Father Parsons is a former Editor-in-Chief of this Review. We were not surprised that General Articles rated high. It was third as first choice. We thought it significant that Book Reviews maintained such a strong rating in all three columns. Book publishers, hard-headed businessmen who don't waste their advertising dollar, will not be surprised at that rating. They knew already, from the pull of their inserts, that the AMERICA reader is a *reader*. It seems that most of you are not following Discs or Television. But these two features are quite recent additions to the weekly fare and they have not yet had time to build up their respective fans.

We interpret the above table as indicating that most of you read AMERICA for the opinions you find expressed in the Editorial and Comment pages. This preference is quite compatible with our function as a journal of opinion. You are a thinking and alert readership, with a concern, not to say a passion, for taking part, even if vicariously, in the great decisions of our day. We think you want to supplement and check what you read in the daily secular press with what you can read in a journal like AMERICA, whose approach is more attuned to your own philosophy of life.

This doesn't mean that you are invariably pleased with what you read in our pages. We asked you: "Do you agree with everything we say?" To this query 13.5% go along with us in everything. But most of you are more discriminating in your reactions to our points of view. 80% of you said you agree with AMERICA "most of the time." As for the rest, they did not answer. We wonder just what that silence indicates.

Specific areas of disagreement were mentioned by many respondents. AMERICA's attitude on censorship, toward the laity, on the Suez crisis, were subjects which seem to have split our readership. Many, too, showed dissatisfaction with our treatment of political questions and labor-management questions. Many did not like our stand during the controversies over Senator McCarthy. On the other hand, many indicated their support of our position on contemporary racial tensions, on interfaith relations and on budgetary and arms issues. AMERICA's contributions in literary matters were apparently esteemed highly.

We move on to some other aspects of the survey. We were curious to know just how you happened to know of AMERICA in the first place. Your answers could guide us in our continuing search for new readers. We learned that about a quarter of you got to know AMERICA at school, apparently through class assignments or through fellow students. About 12% learned about AMERICA at home. Apparently, then, your parents or brothers and sisters used to get it. About the same percentage first

came across AMERICA in church. One respondent said: "It was constantly recommended by a former pastor whom I greatly admired." Another wrote: "The parish priest was so much against it, I decided to see what it was all about." One man first came across AMERICA in jail. Among other channels, one-tenth of you got to know about AMERICA through the mail, by which we suppose you mean that you received promotional literature from our tireless circulation department. Gift subscriptions were the source of 8% of the introductions to AMERICA. We would like to point out to those who give AMERICA as a gift that evidently a high percentage of these gift subscriptions catch on with the beneficiaries.

These are a few of the highlights of our 1957 AMERICA Reader Survey. Do you see yourself mirrored in the results? Your carefully written replies supply a gold mine of information to guide us, your servants, in the coming year as we approach our Golden Jubilee in April, 1959. The members of the staff who had most to do with making the survey a success, that is, Father Joseph F. MacFarlane and Father Patrick H. Collins, business manager and circulation manager respectively, pledged a novena of Masses to those who cooperated. May we say that the prayers of all the staff go out for the thousands of anonymous AMERICA readers who so generously took time out to help us improve our product. We learned a lot. The most important thing we (and you) learned is how dedicated a readership AMERICA is proud to possess.

Dear Readers:

✓ Our weekly circulation record for the February 22, 1958 issue showed a press run of 47,041 and a total circulation of 45,337—of which 38,418 copies went to individual subscribers. During the week prior to the compilation of this record there were 3 drops, 723 new orders and 415 renewals.

✓ Vol. I, No. 1 of AMERICA is dated April 17, 1909. Within a little more than a year, therefore, we shall be celebrating our Golden Jubilee. AMERICA has many hopes and plans for this anniversary, and Fr. Lester A. Linz of our staff is working full-time to make them come true. We promise to keep you fully informed on developments.

✓ So many welcome letters are coming in from subscribers and other readers that I must publicly ask your indulgence for not answering them all, or in certain cases for not replying as fully or as promptly as I would like to do. With respect to letters intended for publication, brief letters, triple-spaced, are most appreciated.

Yours faithfully

Phurston U. Davis, Jr.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Little Europe in Perspective

Peter L. Danner

ON JANUARY 1 OF THIS YEAR the European Economic Community was born on schedule, just nine months after the chief executives of France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg had signed the Common Market Treaty in Rome. Thus has begun a bold, new experiment in international cooperation, which could well change the course of European history for a millennium.

For the European Economic Community is not just another trade organization, but a supranational authority with legislative, judicial and executive powers after the pattern of the very successful European Community of Coal and Steel. Unlike the Coal and Steel Community, however, the Common Market—or Little Europe, as it has been dubbed—will not be limited in scope to a particular industry or industries, but will attempt to integrate the entire economies of the six signatory nations.

On the way toward achieving this goal, two intermediate ends must be gained: 1) a common tariff community, possessing a single tariff policy with respect to nonmember nations and a mechanism to maintain the balance of trade of the six members with the rest of the world; 2) a free-trade area within the Community, in which tariffs and quota restrictions will gradually be eliminated and a common pattern of excise duties established. These alone will result in gigantic gains for intra-European commerce; but the Common Market is more ambitious than this. Eventually, it is intended that the six economies will be united in such a way that capital, labor, raw materials and fabricated goods will pass as freely across national frontiers as they do across State boundaries in the United States.

SOURCE OF TENSION

A time schedule of 17 years in three flexible stages has been worked out for this ambitious transformation. Actually this time projection seems quite unrealistic in light of the fact that the much simpler integration goal of Benelux has not yet been attained after 13 years. Still, maintenance of the time schedule is not nearly as important as steady progress in clearing away obstacles to complete integration.

Among these obstacles, French-German relations hold a peculiar place. They are, in fact, the keystone of the whole structure. The obstacles here are due not only

to France's political instability, nor wholly to different social attitudes, which are partly rooted in distinct national characteristics, nor even to the history of political animosity between the two countries. All these are obvious stumbling blocks to integration; but the great obstacle is the difference in the relative industrial strength of the French and German economies. For though France's postwar recovery has been remarkable, Germany's has been absolutely phenomenal. Furthermore, the financial drain of France's crumbling overseas empire has caused that country constant embarrassment.

YEARS NEEDED

Here the current Algerian affair takes on particular significance. Any attempts at a solution are complicated by the conviction among Frenchmen that France can counterbalance German industrial superiority only if she has access to the immense oil and mineral resources of the Sahara.

Obstacles common to other members must also be overcome. Entrenched interests, which have grown up around national institutions, fear a loss of economic power as well as a lowering of invested values from this supranational scheme. The less industrialized areas are apprehensive that too rapid integration will mean a greater concentration of enterprise, at their expense, in already heavily industrialized areas. Protected segments of the economy, like agriculture, worry about the dislocations resulting from the removal of tariff barriers and quota restrictions. Finally there are the more intangible difficulties which flow from local pride and interests, national fears and loyalties.

From all these uncertainties springs the certainty that 17 years will not suffice to complete economic union. Yet, as we have said, this need not be cause for discouragement, so long as progress is made. The pathway to union is strewn with pitfalls and entanglements which can be successfully passed only by the honest recognition of conflicting interests and a spirit of compromise, willing to work toward mutually acceptable formulas. By this process of hard, step-by-step bargaining, integration can come about—provided, of course, the bargainers have the conviction that there is a supranational interest which is a logical antecedent and condition of true national self-interest.

Such, in brief, is the essence of the Common Market, and such are some of the difficulties in the way of its

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achievement. The obvious hope of its founders is the betterment of Europe's economic position among the nations of the world. But behind this hope is the unexpressed vision of a politically united Europe, whose form of union has purposely been left obscure and vague, awaiting more propitious circumstances.

One must largely discount much of the wild speculation that a new economic power, rivaling that of the United States and the USSR, may soon arise in Europe. But the fact remains that extraordinary economic benefits will result from even a partially successful Euramart. While it is conjectural what effect the widening of competition will have on European entrepreneurs, it is reasonable to suppose that the enlargement of their potential markets will spur businessmen and industrialists toward greater specialization and wholesale marketing, two practices that are basic to America's productive might.

PRACTICAL APPRAISAL

In this respect the experience of the past is reassuring—for example, the effect of the German Customs Union on Germany's industrial development, and the part played by Benelux in the postwar recovery of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Similarly, the 40-percent increase in intra-European trade just a year after the European Payments Union was established points to the same conclusion: that integration will stimulate trade and hence industry. Another factor is that the increased and pooled use of atomic energy, provided for by the Euratom treaty, will alleviate Europe's poverty of oil (though here, of course, one is still in the realm of conjecture). Hence, it is perfectly reasonable to expect that the Common Market will bring about increased productivity and a higher standard of living.

Nevertheless, these hopes must be viewed in the light of reality. And the cold facts are that Little Europe is not endowed with the natural resources which the United States enjoys, nor does it possess anything like our industrial potential. Little Europe will include roughly the same number of people as the United States, but there the comparison ends.

In agriculture, the Common Market countries employ three times as many workers as the United States—but produce only two-thirds as much cereal crops and potatoes; one-half as many cattle, sheep and pigs; one-tenth as much tobacco; and practically no cotton. Only in their vineyards do they enjoy a significant advantage.

Little Europe will mine almost as much coal as the United States, but one-fourth of the total is low-grade lignite, and much has to be turned into coke for manufactured gas. The reason for this is that petroleum and natural-gas production is not even 2 per cent of United States production. In the other primary extractive industries, the Euramart countries cut only one-fourth as much wood, and mine but one-half as much iron ore and about three-fourths as much nonferrous metals as the United States. To these great natural advantages must be added the vast United States industrial potential—a potential that Little Europe will certainly not match until at least the 21st century.

A balanced view of the Common Market, then, will not minimize the great difficulties in the way of its realization. Further, it will temper too sanguine predictions of increased productivity, weighing the potentialities implicit in Euramart against a realistic appraisal of present industrial capacity. But such an insight must not, on the other hand, neglect the deeper implications of the Community in the sphere of political and spiritual values. In this respect Pius XII again proves himself the most clear-sighted statesman of Europe. In his address before the Congress of Europe, in Rome, June 13, 1957, he warned against an exclusive concentration on material advantages and advised the members to recognize the political and spiritual gains that could result from economic integration:

Though this new Community is restricted to the domain of economics, it can lead, within the scope of its activity, to a strengthening among its member nations of the consciousness of common interest—first of all, of course, on the material plane; but, if success attends this attempt, it might further influence areas involving to a greater extent moral and spiritual values.

This insight will explain Konrad Adenauer's enthusiasm for the union, in spite of the expressed reluctance of his Minister of Economic Affairs, Ludwig Erhard. For, though West Germany will make far more economic concessions than any other member nation, the German Chancellor realizes that only in a European union can Germany, as well as the other states, achieve that political stability which is indispensable for economic prosperity. Moreover, the Common Market countries hope so to intertwine their economies that war among them will be inconceivable.

WIDE REPERCUSSIONS

The expressed economic objectives of the Community will themselves entail a high degree of political cooperation. This in turn will tend to engender a habit of neighborly consideration that could smooth the road to moral and political unity. Even a cursory survey of the most obvious implications of the Common Market will indicate its potential impact on national legislation and political thinking.

To ensure the free movement of labor, national legislation will have to be coordinated in such matters as social security, minimum wages, labor welfare, safety, immigration and temporary work-visa policies. The free movement of capital will demand not only a common policy with respect to balance and transfer of payments, but will affect central bank control of interest rates and credit, and will touch even fiscal policy to the extent that this is directed against inflationary or deflationary conditions. The free flow of goods across frontiers will call for collaboration on tariff rates, excise duties, health regulations and quotas. This will also affect fiscal policy in member states that depend upon excise duties, rather than direct taxes, as the principal source of state revenue.

Common tariffs will mean mutual assistance on balance-of-payment problems with nonmembers, common

policies on exchange rates and on the subsidizing of specific industries, in particular of agriculture. Eventually economic union will mean a truly international securities-and-commodities exchange, and could well demand the adoption of a common currency and an integrated banking system, based on the two principles of central control and regional autonomy, somewhat after the pattern of the Federal Reserve System.

There is little need to labor the point further. If economic union, rather than a mere policy of mutual cooperation and consultation, is ever to be achieved, this will necessitate a great deal of political coordination—to the extent, even, of requiring or prohibiting specific forms of national legislation. It takes no great stretch of the imagination to go one step further and envisage political federation flowing from this cooperation.

With the foregoing in mind, we can now attempt to bring Little Europe into focus, looking at it with both American and European eyes.

To Americans the Common Market will at first appear chiefly restrictive of American imports. Americans can expect higher tariff barriers, quota restrictions and a "Buy-European" policy in general. It will mean, in effect, a further postponement of the realization of the international free-trade ideal. But what must not be forgotten in Little Europe's attempt to fill the "dollar gap" is the "hidden dollar gap"—Europe's desire for American imports, which has been suppressed simply because Europe cannot pay for them. Higher incomes will evoke an increased demand for American consumer goods, in spite of higher tariff walls. Furthermore, as industrialization is accelerated, the United States can expect an increased demand for American capital and capital goods. In the long run, a wealthier Europe is a wealthier customer of American business; and while trade patterns will change, the United States can expect an overall increase in trade with Europe.

Congress and Wiretapping

Robert F. Drinan

ON DECEMBER 23, 1957, U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers stated that the incoming Congress would clarify the legal status of wiretapping. Nothing could be more desirable. Two recent U. S. Supreme Court decisions and the objectionable, if legal, use of a detectaphone by the New York Transit Authority have once again brought into focus the unsatisfactory protection the law provides against this form of eavesdropping.

For three decades now, Federal and State authorities have allowed legal confusion to increase concerning the

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This period of international readjustment can be more patiently endured by Americans, if they realize how much the Little Europe idea owes to American authorship. The tone of America's official attitude toward European federation was set in Marshall Plan days in speeches by men like Dwight D. Eisenhower, Gen. George C. Marshall and, in particular, Paul G. Hoffman. It little behooves the United States to renege on its encouragement, now that the idea of European unity stands a chance of being implemented. Finally, an economically and politically federated Europe will become such a bastion of free-world defenses that this gain far outweighs any economic inconveniences or sacrifices the United States might have to make.

To Europeans the Common Market rightly offers the best means of regaining that economic position amongst the nations of the world which they lost at the turn of the century. Though optimism must be tempered by realism on this score, mutual cooperation and the elimination of the economic waste due to intra-European strife will set the stage for remarkable economic advances.

But the most encouraging aspect of the European Economic Community is the public commitment to the idea that there is a common supranational interest indispensable to national self-interest. This modification of national sovereignty on the economic plane necessarily entails some modification on the political plane as well. The habits of mutual consideration thus engendered will tend to dissipate the atmosphere of national distrust and hatred which centuries of war, shifting alliances and broken treaties have thrown like a pall over Europe. Above all, the plan marks a radical departure from the policy of exclusive concentration on nationalistic values, in favor of a reconsideration of the moral and spiritual values which are Europe's true and most precious bequest to the world.

use and abuse of wiretapping. In 1928 the U. S. Supreme Court in the *Olmstead* decision ruled, over the dissent of Justices Holmes, Brandeis, Butler and Stone, that wiretapping is not an invasion of constitutional rights.

In the first case after the *Olmstead* ruling, the Supreme Court in *Nardone v. United States* (1937) seized upon the relatively unnoticed Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act of 1934 and proclaimed that this law made evidence obtained by wiretapping inadmissible in a Federal Court. Section 605—which has a murky legislative history—provides that "no person not being authorized by the sender shall intercept any communication and divulge or publish the existence . . . or meaning of such intercepted communication. . . ."



The Supreme Court has interpreted this statute with fairly consistent strictness. Finally, on December 9, 1957, it unanimously ruled that Section 605 makes it a Federal crime for *anyone* to intercept and divulge *any* telephonic message. Such is now the law—apparently even in States like New York, where by constitutional amendment wiretapping by law-enforcement agencies is allowed under certain conditions.

The Supreme Court, therefore, has given to Section 605 such a sweeping effect that any State prosecutor who now introduces into court wiretapped evidence (or even the indirect fruits of such evidence) can be openly accused of having committed a Federal crime. One wonders if the Supreme Court has attempted to eliminate what Holmes called "dirty business" by stiffening the interpretation of a Federal statute rather than by re-examining the basic constitutional problem involved.

If wiretapping is to be judicially banned, a complete re-evaluation of the basic constitutional issues raised in the Olmstead case is in order. Is wiretapping or its variants, such as eavesdropping by a detectaphone or by an extension telephone, consistent with the prohibition of unreasonable searches and seizures contained in the Fourth Amendment and the ban on compulsory self-incrimination enunciated in the Fifth? One might conjecture that the present Supreme Court would, and perhaps should, deny anyone the right to invade the mind and heart of another person by means of telephonic interception.

In the absence, however, of a clear Court ruling and in the face of Attorney General Rogers' declaration that the Department of Justice will *not* prosecute State officials who "bug" phone conversations contrary to Federal law, congressional action is imperative. If wiretapping is to be allowed in cases involving kidnaping, internal security and other grave matters, then such exceptions should be spelled out in the law. At the present time we witness Federal agencies, including the FBI, as well as State law-enforcement authorities, admittedly wiretapping in violation of Federal law. Could anything be more corrosive of public respect for the law?

Congress has two alternatives: 1) it can ban all wiretapping by reaffirming the interpretation given to Section 605 by the Supreme Court; or 2) it can modify 605 by specifying certain circumstances in which Federal and State officials may wiretap. Each of these possibilities has arguments in its favor.

The first alternative—the total prohibition of wiretapping—is attractive since it guarantees the absolute

inviolability of every telephonic conversation. A ban on electronic eavesdropping may inconvenience police officials in crime-detection efforts, but it carries out the spirit of the Fourth and Fifth Amendments by making a man's home and his conversation with his friends a sanctuary beyond the reach of the law.

HOW FAR PRIVACY?

If a citizen's phone calls may be monitored, may the papers on his desk be photographed by long-range cameras without his permission? And may his unopened mail be read by means of mechanical devices? The basic issue involved in all these questions is the power of the state to intrude into a man's soul and his secrets without his knowledge or permission. If the state were refused that right, would not the clear advantages of such a refusal outweigh its undeniable disadvantages?

The second alternative before Congress—to allow wiretapping under certain circumstances—is appealing because in crimes such as kidnaping, law-enforcement agencies are aided immensely if they can obtain information by eavesdropping on telephone conversations with the permission of the *receiver*, though not of the sender, of the message. Similarly, in espionage cases, law officials are helped if subversives' phone calls are overheard. If permission to tap wires is to be granted, a clear definition of the precise extent of such permission is needed, as well as the designation of a responsible agency to grant the permission. The Federal courts would probably be the most reliable agency to control the granting of a permission which, if it is given at all, should be conceded at least with the same care as attaches to the issuance of a search warrant. This should be considered fundamental.

In any event, Congress should act promptly to investigate the problem of wiretapping and clarify by legislation what right, if any, is to be given to the police to listen secretly to a citizen's phone calls without his permission.

IT IS URGED that a construction be given the section which would exclude Federal agents, since it is improbable Congress intended to hamper and impede the activities of the Government in the detection and punishment of crime. The answer is that the question is one of policy. Congress may have thought it less important that some offenders should go unwhipped of justice than that officers should resort to methods deemed inconsistent with ethical standards and destructive of personal liberty. . . .

Another well-recognized principle leads to the application of the statute as it is written so as to include within its sweep Federal officers as well. That principle is that the sovereign is embraced by general words of a statute intended to prevent injury and wrong.

U. S. Supreme Court, *Nardone v. United States*

State of the Question

TWO MORE IMPORTANT COUNTIES HEARD FROM

Voices from Brooklyn and Dallas are heard in this week's State of the Question discussing anti-intellectual and anti-social attitudes among Catholics. Miss Lane looks to an understanding clergy to help end the cold war against scholars; Mr. Farrell sees selfishness lurking beneath certain Catholic positions.

TO THE EDITOR: Presumably it was no accident that in your issue of Nov. 23 Mrs. Norma Krause Herzfeld's study of Catholic press attitudes on foreign aid followed immediately upon Dr. Marston Morse's plea for greater respect for learning; for the facts recorded by Mrs. Herzfeld aptly illustrated one of the many ways in which American Catholic scholars have been relegated to the role of prophets without honor among their own. Her study pointed up a fact of contemporary Catholic life which will have to be faced and corrected before we are likely to have the improvement sought by Dr. Morse.

Scholars like Fr. Vizzard and Dr. Nuesse can speak authoritatively in expressing a truly Christian attitude toward the complex issue of foreign aid. But we rank-and-file Catholics find the implications of the Vizzard-Nuesse message disturbing, for they place upon us a responsibility we are unwilling to assume. Therefore we—through our leaders, the editors who are well attuned to their readers' wishes, like Mr. Dooley's jurists who followed the election returns—reject the scholars either by ignoring altogether the questions at issue or by allowing space in print and in our minds only for the opposite views.

We do not raise the question whether the dissenters have the necessary competence to guide Catholics in this field. Indeed, for a considerable segment of American Catholic opinion it is the fashion to regard our experts as the dissenters, never troubling to look under the surface for the reason why.

Leaders Who Don't Lead

It is doubtful whether any Catholic leadership group would state as its aim: "to give the people what they want." But in practice, what do we find?

The people want novenas instead of liturgy, so they get novenas instead of liturgy.

The people have been comfortable in their attitudes of racial prejudice, so there have been relatively few sermons, articles or lectures on the evil until recently, when

we have been obliged by outside forces to take a stand on the race question.

On the social problems dealt with so courageously in the papal encyclicals, the people have not wanted to be disturbed, so instruction on these issues has been kept to a minimum, and the few Catholics who have voiced concern about social problems have been viewed with suspicion as "too liberal."

The "do not disturb" attitude would seem to account, too, for the extent to which we have allowed Karl Marx to provide the themes for so much of our Catholic written and spoken communication in recent decades. It is less unsettling to decry the Communists' defects than to face our own.

Actions Speak Louder

Actions, the old saying has it, speak louder than words. The human prestige symbols of American Catholic life seem to be mainly three: the saint, the priest and the prominent Catholic layman (PCL). This third man should move over to make room for a fourth, the scholar. This hasn't happened yet. It is a task of our generation to make it happen.

The saint, the man who was good and did good, represents the embodiment of what we honor in principle. The PCL, the man who made good, represents the embodiment of what we honor in practice. Our doctrine stresses ultimate values, ends; but our deportment shows a preference for people of means.

The saint is safely dead, and one may wonder what kind of reception he would get if he were to put in a live appearance in our "practical" world. The PCL is very much alive, and the acclaim given him is quite understandable in the light of a) the financial needs of our Catholic institutions; and b) the fact that we don't want to be disturbed. The PCL, for the most part, has achieved his prominence by being a go-getter. He is likely to be more a doer than a thinker, more concerned with things and actions than with ideas and essences. One can admire his success without running the risk of encountering any challenges from him.

But with the scholar there is such a risk. We tend to be wary of him, for he is capable of disturbing our equanimity. This may account for our reluctance to accord him the prestige status he deserves.

And what of the priest? He is the key figure in this contemporary drama, which could turn out to be a tragedy. (The term "priest" is here used in a broad sense to encompass not only priests themselves but all who wear the cloth, of whatever rank or sex; as well as those lay people who are assumed to have priestly authorization when they express opinions from editorial chairs or lecture platforms.)

In the priest are combined the attributes partly lacking in our other symbolic figures. He is alive, he has the capacity to challenge and he holds prestige status. Where he leads, the people will follow, through they may do so grumblingly. The grumbling is significant, for the priest loves his people and may be tempted to regard their protestations as his Master's voice. But the voice of the people is the voice of God only in a very limited sense.

A Time For Competence

We are going through a crucial phase in this drama of our times. Perhaps its outcome will depend on the extent to which our priests comprehend the centrality of their role, which is to lead. The shepherd must have the courage to guide his flock with understanding and love, and not surrender the power of guidance to them. For there is much that the flock cannot be expected to know (though there is, to be sure, a great deal it can learn, and a great potentiality for leadership in its members that has as yet been too little developed).

On the other hand—and here may be the vital core of the problem—there is much that the priest cannot be expected to know, even if he is one of a select few: priest-chemist, priest-psychiatrist, priest-sociologist, priest-artist, etc. Therefore he needs to enlist as his ally the scholar, the expert, the specialist with competence in one or another of the non-theological branches of learning.

This places upon the priest a double burden, which we of the laity cannot but view with awe and respect. He must assume the powers and responsibilities of leadership, but must at the same time acknowledge the limitations that are undoubtedly his in certain areas of knowledge, and recognize the need to consult with and place confidence in those who are qualified to lead in these specialized areas. The discerning priest knows where to find these experts and will not allow himself to be scared away by cries of "too liberal!" from the more timorous of the flock.

When a sick child needs healing or a legal problem needs settling, we do not call

in the butcher, the baker or the candlestick maker. And if the doctor or the lawyer takes a position we find difficult to understand, we do not deride him or suggest that he is off base. Here it may be noted that the professions most often found in the PCL prestige group are medicine and law. We plain people admit that their technicalities are beyond us; and besides, their practitioners earn imposing incomes.

When a child's life is at stake, we heed the doctor. But here we have a civilization at stake, and we refuse to heed the doctors of civilization. The mass-communication media have encouraged us in the little learning that is a dangerous thing, and with a kind of reverse snobbery we cut our scholars dead. We can, we think, get along without them. We can always find substitute "experts" with views more to our liking.

We can find, for example, some ex-sportswriter to advise us on labor problems; an organization of dear old ladies (more patriotic than anybody) to serve as immigration experts; veterans' groups to probe the intricacies of Unesco; the yellow press to expound political and social theory; long-dead statesmen (who would have the vision to be men of their times if they lived today) to voice from the grave outdated warnings against foreign entanglements.

In art, too, and music and literature, in practically every specialty, there are volunteers to vie with authentic guides. And with almost uncanny consistency we can be counted on to choose those whose viewpoints cannot in conscience be endorsed by our genuine scholars (most of our scholars, at any rate; just to keep things lively, it is often possible to find a few Ph.D's serving as the exception to prove the rule).

Learning Comes Not Lightly

When these matters are under discussion, the word "sincere" is likely to crop up. "Oh, sure," one will hear, with reference to an opinion-molder whose zeal outweighs his competence; "sure, he's often wrong, but you have to give him credit for his sincerity." Just why credit should be given to sincerity when it is coupled with error is not made clear. To be sincere and wrong is to be especially dangerous, for the sincere are more persuasive than the insincere.

Theological error or misrepresentation is not customarily defended on the ground that the errant are sincere, yet this attitude is prevalent when error or misrepresentation of a non-theological order is popularized in Catholic circles.

We would not knowingly admit to ourselves that we prefer incompetence to competence. We insist on kidding ourselves. But should not our priests take the lead in saving us from ourselves? And should not they give credit where credit is due?

Our Catholic experts and specialists did not undertake their long and difficult years of training for a lark. While the priest was laboring over his theological studies and the PCL was laboring to establish a flourishing business, while the ex-sportswriter was laboring at his sportswriting, and the more patriotic ladies were busy raising their families, and the veterans of today were busy fighting the wars of yesterday, our scholars were not idle. They were laboring, too, at a pursuit no less respectable than any of these, the pursuit of truth in some specialized discipline (and some of them were raising families and fighting in the wars as well).

Why should we laugh them off, or scoff at them, or imply that we have gained more knowledge from thin air than they have acquired from years of training and experience? It has been shocking to this member of the laity to observe the ease with which some who have survived the rigors of seminary training can dismiss with a jeer the hard-won insights of Catholic "eggheads." Yet there is enough of this going on in the written and spoken output (including casual conversation) of the clergy and their authorized representatives to constitute a genuine hazard to intellectual progress.

Need for Support

Black-and-white thinking dies hard. As our contemporary drama proceeds, a voice from the wings is almost sure to be heard crying: "But scholars aren't perfect!" We may be sure, too, that a bill of particulars will be supplied.

Of course, scholars aren't perfect. They are no less Adam's heirs than any other cross section of humanity. But their vocation is to pursue truth, and they do so with diligence. Is it too much to concede that they may sometimes be successful in attaining it?

The Church in America has lacked an intellectual tradition, for reasons which our social analysts have ably set forth. Such a tradition is in process of formation, but it will not have a healthy development without adequate support. We the people are ready to agree that an intellectual tradition is a desirable thing to have—if it can be had on our terms. If it demands sacrifices only of the scholars, that's all very well with us. But we hate to face the fact that we, too, must sacrifice, that our sacred cows must be slaughtered and our sleeping dogs roused. We will fight like fury to avoid such sacrifices, even using weapons that are hardly compatible with our tenet that charity is the greatest of the virtues.

It is the priest, whose weapons are understanding and love, who can take the necessary steps to end the cold war against the scholar. The first of these steps is to grant the scholar the prestige that should never

have been withheld from him. And where the shepherd leads, the flock will follow.

The priest does not lack an example of how to do it, for the Great Priest in Rome, the Pontifex, has long been showing us how. The Holy Father has always been gracious to scholars, and if we American Catholics patterned our behavior on his instead of using lesser models, the great debate about our intellectual failure would not now be taking place.

Like the Great Pontifex in Rome, the lesser pontifex at home can build the bridge of understanding and love to span the gap now separating the people from the scholars. With Sputnik beeping above us, there is no time to lose. ANITA C. LANE
Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR: Father Cavanaugh's criticism of Catholic education and your strictures on his lack of discretion (AM. 1/11) in public relations are not matters of dogma or morality. Fr. Cavanaugh's voice is a fresh draft—a coming up for air—after the long paeans to Catholic education, competent or otherwise, that pour from our pulpits.

Let's stop worrying about our linen and its public washing. Good public relations result from good public and private actions, and not from overcautious censorship of the Fr. Cavanaugh's.

Undoubtedly Msgr. Francis J. Lally's article, "Catholics and Civil Liberties" (AM. 2/1), will raise a beautiful storm especially among us "country borns" or "narrowbacks," as my Irish mother called her American children. I must warn you that Irish-Catholics of the "Midwestern rite" will surely petition anathema against you for even intimating we are indifferent to the freedom of others. What hurts is that it's true.

Freedom fighters, indeed! Generations back and across the sea, when some of our parents swore allegiance to the cause of Irish freedom, they did it through an organization they called "Sinn Fein," which means something less than "Lovers of Freedom." Translated from the Gaelic, it actually means "Ourselves Alone." As Msgr. Lally softly suggests, that is our trouble today.

We're fat. We're climbing the political, social and economic ladders. We're a long way from any kind of catacomb. We're getting "ours." Why worry about someone else's problems? And as for that "so-called" American Civil Liberties Union, "Some of our best friends belong to it, but—"

I am delighted that Msgr. Lally wrote the article and that you published it. You have lighted a forest of candles!

THOMAS ARTHUR PATRICK FARRELL
Dallas, Texas

BOOKS

A New Side of a Many-Faceted Character

VOLTAIRE IN LOVE

By Nancy Mitford. Harper. 305p. \$5

The clergy said that the poem "*Le Mondain*" was blasphemous because Adam and Eve were depicted as making love constantly in the Garden of Eden. . . . Miss Mitford's elegant and diverting pen is content to leave it at that, though it resulted in her hero's having to skip, one bitter night, from Mme. du Châtelet's arms over the Dutch frontier for a couple of months. We are presumably to take for granted that "the clergy" in this case, as others, are imbeciles, but we are not told why; nor are we told why King Stanislas of Poland amid his love-affairs had such a fear of hell, which must have been terribly amusing. A Gibbon would elucidate these things.

A mild grievance on this score seems reasonable. In itself Voltaire's long *collage* with Mme. du Châtelet, a physicist with "something of the whore," is no



more fascinating than any other, apart from amusing glimpses of the bluestocking dictating to her cavalier a simplified version of the Newtonian philosophy, and adds little to the Voltairean "thisness."

One feels in fact that by and large, and all his monkey-mischief apart, Voltaire is too complex a subject for Miss Mitford's charming muse, being a mixture of good, evil and basic aridity whose very friendships are only projections, as somebody said, of his ego. Consecrated clichés about fighting injustice and superstition—this last correlated apparently with Catholicism at large—are not enough, moreover.

At the height of his fame the Apostle of Liberty would take endless pains to have some starving hack who had offended him shoved into prison, as Ravaissou's research shows. And if, again, that admiring dedication of *Mahomet* to Pope Benedict XIV, who replied with a medal, was merely a strategic move towards the Académie Française, the virtuoso of a lifetime's mockery and Deist whimsy certainly signed a recantation on his dying-bed, in a Jesuit's presence. Complete reconciliation, though forcibly prevented by his bodyguard next day, was therefore a reasonable possibility. No connection with Mme. du Châtelet, but essential, perhaps, to any attempt at judgment on the master in toto.

In a most deft and engaging section Miss Mitford surveys Voltaire meeting his match at Potsdam in the person of Old Fritz, Frederic II of Prussia, Carlyle's atheist hero, "a shivering, waspish little fellow in a duffel dressing gown, whose Court consisted of middle-class intellectuals, cosmopolitan sodomites and Prussian soldiers." It was this icy-hearted pedant who first distinguished Voltaire's zoological type. "The charm



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and malice of an ape"—we see it all exhibited in a celebrated interview with Boswell. Grimaces and chattering for fun alternate with a thousand simian rages. Society's spoilt child had the sensibility of his period likewise. After Mme. du Châtelet's death in childbirth, which affected him for some weeks, "he even spoke," says Miss Mitford, raising an eyebrow with the rest of us, "of entering a monastery," though already conducting a passionate intrigue with his

niece. Exquisitely "period," also, is the supper-party scene in which Madame and her lovers, Voltaire and Saint-Lambert, combine to fool her husband over her pregnancy. Pure Crébillon. There is something symbolic in the fact that this brilliant age had to drench itself nightly in strong perfume. Though Miss Mitford is clearly drawn by temperament and taste to the age of the Encyclopedists, when every face-patch had its name, many of her admirers will wish her back with a roving, saucy pen in her own age again. Practically everybody seems to have written books on Voltaire except the one intimate who might have had something highly illuminating to say. I refer of course to Voltaire's old friend, guest and faithful chess-opponent at Ferney, Père Adan, S.J.

D. B. WYNTHAM LEWIS

Our Reviewers

D. B. WYNTHAM LEWIS' many books and writings have made him one of the best known contemporary authors.

REV. HARRY J. SIEVERS, S.J., professor of history at Bellarmine College, Plattsburgh, N. Y., is the author of several works on Benjamin Harrison.

NEIL MACNEIL was for thirty years night copy editor of the *New York Times*.

REV. JOHN CORREIA-AFONSO, S.J. of the Jesuits' Bombay province spent several years as a student in Spain.

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One Who Came Close

MAGNIFICENT MISSOURIAN: The Life of Thomas Hart Benton
By Elbert B. Smith. Lippincott. 351p. \$6

Thomas Hart Benton, the first 30-year-man in the U. S. Senate (1821-1851), is the towering subject of this excellent book. In wielding his biographical brush, Elbert Smith, professor at Iowa State College, is interesting, amusing and critical. The result is a well-rounded portrait that successfully aligns Benton with Clay, Webster and Calhoun as one of the four political giants of the Jackson era.

Benton, a native of North Carolina, became a lawyer and a soldier in Tennessee. At 33, after his brawl with Andrew Jackson, Benton moved to a Missouri frontier village called St. Louis. Friends saw in him a giant, physically and intellectually. Foes found him vain and hot-tempered. Often courage and loyalty became mingled with icy contempt and a sarcasm "cold enough to chill one's blood." Later in life Benton managed a self-control necessary to disagree without being disagreeable, but even then opponents remained "objects for attack rather than candidates for conversion."

"Every young man," Benton told Jackson in 1812, "should plan either to do something worth being written or write something worth doing" (p. 275). The "Magnificent Missourian" pursued this objective, fearing nothing save "masterful inactivity." After the panic of 1819, Benton began his career as "Champion of the West."

When Northeastern interests threatened Western prosperity, Benton

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:

LAS Liberal Arts	FS Foreign Service	Mu Music	Sp Speech
AE Adult Education	G Graduate School	N Nursing	Officers Training Corps
C Commerce	IR Industrial	P Pharmacy	AROTC Army
D Dentistry	J Relations	S Social Work	NROTC Navy
Ed Education	L Journalism	Sc Science	AFROTC Air Force
E Engineering	M Medicine	Sy Station	

touched off the famed Webster-Hayne Debate. In 1863 his hard-money views embodied in the "Specie Circular," won him the title of "Old Bullion."

Benton's love for the West extended far beyond Missouri. By introducing a bill in 1824 which graded the price of public land, he begged for pioneers: if they could not pay \$1.25 an acre, let the land be sold for less, even given away. Here, and elsewhere, Benton epitomized and justified his policies by citing the principle: "Ask Nothing But What Is Right—Submit To Nothing That Is Wrong"—Jackson's great maxim.

At least thrice the imaginative, realistic and pragmatic Benton stood on the threshold of a Presidential candidacy. Each time he refused. Why? Was there some point at which his magnificence was vulnerable? The author suggests an Achilles' heel. As a freshman at North Carolina University, young Benton had been expelled for stealing money from his classmates. "The impact of this miserable experience . . . is beyond question" (p. 22). Benton knew that his college forgave and forgot, but about political enemies he was not so sure. Perhaps the fear that a Presidential campaign would bring to life the scandal did haunt Benton. At any rate, he seemed satisfied with the Senate and never tried to become "Father of his Country."

During the twilight years after his retirement from Congress, Benton remained vigorously active. Where his oratory stopped, his pen began. Volumes still rolled from press after his death in 1858. Although economy rather than scholarship determined the footnoting, the volume deserves a wide and careful reading.

HARRY J. SIEVERS

DEADLINE EVERY MINUTE: the Story of the United Press.

By Joe Alex Morris. Doubleday. 356p. \$5

Much of the best reporting for the American press (and some of the worst) is done by the staffs of the news agencies. As the bulk of the news appearing in newspapers outside the local community and almost all on the radio is supplied by them, their work is of vital importance in a society that largely depends for its political life and its economic progress on the availability of quick and accurate information on events at home and abroad.

The United States has the three chief news agencies of the free world: the Associated Press, the United Press and the International News Service. They

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cover the news of the world on the spot and supply it in detail not only to the thousands of newspapers and radio stations of the United States but also to most other countries outside the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. As they supply news to all manner of newspapers of all shades of opinion, they necessarily take great care to have their stories factual and objective; and in this they are eminently successful. There is nothing else comparable to them anywhere in the journalistic world. But they put great stress on speed, and this tends to make their reports hurried and incomplete, and sometimes inaccurate.

The story of UP's fifty years as told by Mr. Morris makes interesting reading for everyone who reads a newspaper or listens to a radio broadcast. It is especially interesting to newsmen. Often the story behind the story, the story of how the reporter got the story, can be as interesting as the story itself.

Perhaps it is pardonable that Mr. Morris details over and over the many news beats scored by the UP in fifty years and manages to overlook the many times it was scooped. Mr. Morris is an old UP reporter himself, and probably is still full of the old do-or-die spirit that carried him and his colleagues to so many journalistic triumphs. Not the least of these triumphs is this book.

NEIL MACNEIL

SILK HATS AND NO BREAKFAST

By Honor Tracy. Random House. 207p. \$3.50

In *South from Malaga* Gerald Brenan recently gave us an enjoyable picture of non-tourist Spain. It is in this same region, and after consultation with Mr. Brenan, that Honor Tracy began her Spanish journey, "hoping to see not only country that was new, but something of Spanish life away from the familiar paths and the great cities." Her route took her northwards, parallel to the Portuguese frontier, to Salamanca, Vigo, Compostela and a number of less known but not less interesting towns and villages.

With a great deal of curiosity and courage, Miss Tracy set off alone on her exploration, paying the obvious price in the shape of inadequate transportation and lodging, and very un-English food. But there was ample compensation for all this—for the reader, at least—in the rich harvest gathered of conversation, customs and peculiarities of the people whom she saw and met. These are recounted in a style that is eminently readable, with pleasant humor and sharp wit.

Miss Tracy is evidently not enamored of Church or State in Spain, and slings occasional darts at them. No one who really knows Spain can be unaware of the extreme poverty in some regions, of the many instances of administrative inefficiency, of the superficiality of some religious practices: and all these are laid bare by the author's deft eye and pen. Yet there is a brighter side of the picture and it is a trifle surprising to read that "a sense of tragedy underlying all things in this land forces itself on the spectator, however indifferent or calloused he may be." We would also disagree with Miss Tracy's appraisal of such subjects as

Cardinal Segura, Calvo Sotelo's *La Muralla*, and the national devotion to our Lady.

When Miss Tracy visited the Bishop of Mondoñedo, His Excellency told her: "You must write the truth about all of us here, but please write it *con cariño*." One is inclined to think that a little more sympathy and affection would have given Miss Tracy a deeper insight into the character of a country and a culture so different from her own, and would have made what is a most entertaining narrative also a balanced account of western Spain.

JOHN CORREIA-AFONSO

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TELEVISION

One of the most disturbing develop-
ments in television during the present
season has been the deterioration of
original, live drama offered by the me-
dium. Though there has been a decrease
in the number of live plays presented on
TV, the decline in quality has been even
more distressing.

Several causes have been advanced.
One of the most frequently expressed
reasons involved what may be described
as the "West Coast blight." It has been
said that when a program like "Studio
One" moved this year from New York to
Hollywood, it underwent a mysterious
and enervating land change. In place of
the frequently stimulating productions
that the series provided when it origi-
nated from a Manhattan studio, it began
to present a string of inept and pointless
works as soon as it changed its address
and began transmitting from California.
The transcontinental shift was held re-
sponsible.

There is no question that "Studio One
in Hollywood" has been disappointing.
After its first telecast from its new loca-
tion, a caustic West Coast newspaper
critic ended his review of the production
with the harsh advice, "Studio One, Go
Home." But to ascribe the program's
shortcomings entirely to its locale is
manifestly without justification. For,
while it is true that the original, live
dramas brought to television this season
from West Coast studios have been, for
the most part, disappointing, this was
not always the case.

"Playhouse 90," which was born in
Hollywood last season, provided during
its first term some of the finest dramas
ever shown on the television screen.
Among them were such splendid
achievements as Rod Serling's *Requiem
for a Heavyweight* and William Gibson's
The Miracle Worker.

The fact that "Playhouse 90" has
failed to make as favorable an impres-
sion this season as it did last may be
due to several factors. But its origination
from the West Coast does not, of itself,
represent the reason for its troubles.

Another reason advanced for the low
state of TV drama has been the limited
contributions to the medium—temporari-
ly at least—by some of its better play-
wrights, like Mr. Serling, Paddy Chay-
efsky and Gore Vidal. They have been
devoting most of their working time
recently either to the movies or the
stage.

But this cannot be the sole reason,

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either, for the condition of TV drama at present. There are other talented playwrights who have contributed impressively to dramatic programs in the past. They are still writing and their works are being shown.

Perhaps the greedy demands of the medium have begun to account, in large measure, for the decline in quality. An author turning out scripts on an assembly-line basis can hardly be expected to endow many of them with real merit.

But there is another factor that would seem to represent even more of a corrupting influence. The demands made by some sponsors and their agencies have crushed the spirits of more than one sensitive and talented writer. Robert J. Crean, whose early television work showed rich promise, recently said that because he could not conscientiously conform to the unreasonable demands of second-guessers seeking to "improve" his work, he was giving up TV writing and turning to the living theatre.

In many cases, plays dealing with controversial issues are not tolerated. The happy ending is an essential requirement; life must be beautiful on the TV screen. These unrealistic requirements underlie the shallowness of many of the plays we are watching this season.

J. P. SHANLEY

FILMS

THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV (MGM). The task of turning Dostoevsky's over-size, sprawling, highly charged novel into a movie of anything like standard size must have been staggering. Scenarist-director Richard Brooks has made it look easy. His film version, photographed in bizarre and calculatedly unearthly MetroColor and running slightly under two hours and one-half, is reasonably faithful to the original, and overflows with what looks to the 20th-century American observer like authentic 19th-century Russian atmosphere.

At the same time, Mr. Brooks has avoided any hint of musty bookishness. Whether one is familiar with the book in advance or not, the movie is a fast-paced, remarkably well-knit and altogether spellbinding example of cinematic storytelling, with the extra advantage of being acted to the hilt by an extremely well-chosen cast.

This is not to say that admirers of Dostoevsky will be entirely satisfied by the result, or that the film is without faults. Some of Brooks' visualizations are


somewhat crude. The opening orgy, for example, designed to tell as much about the character of the elder Karamazov (Lee J. Cobb) as 100 of the book's descriptive pages, is unsettling rather than illuminating. And though the performances are subtle and expert, Grushenka (Maria Schell) and Katya (Claire Bloom) emerge in the movie as uncomfortably reminiscent of those stock, anti-theatrical figures of bad melodrama, the strumpet with the heart of gold and the good girl with the broad streak of viciousness. There is, in addition, simply not room enough fully to develop such crucial characters as Ivan, the skeptical, intellectual brother (Richard Basehart), or Smerdyakov, the baleful servant and possible half-brother (Albert Salmi).

Nevertheless, in re-creating a long-vanished milieu and social structure, and in re-enacting the ordeal and regen-

eration of Dmitri Karamazov (Yul Brynner) so that Dostoevsky's profound insights into the problem of good and evil are preserved more or less intact, the film performs a noteworthy feat. [L of D: A-III]

THE COWBOY (Columbia) would like, I think, to be regarded as a realistic and even iconoclastic Western. Based on Frank Harris' *My Reminiscences as a Cowboy*, it concerns a mild-mannered Chicago hotel clerk (Jack Lemmon) who is grudgingly allowed to buy into a cattle drive in return for paying the gambling debts of the trail boss (Glenn Ford). Our tenderfoot hero regards wrangling as a glamorous profession; and furthermore, the drive is headed for Mexico, where he hopes to resume his romance with a sheltered but beautiful one-time hotel guest (Anna Kashfi).

As it turns out, the romantic plans



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come to naught, which is certainly a precedent-setting plot switch. In addi- tion, the tyro cowboy is speedily dis- illusioned with life on the trail. The simple act of sitting for twelve hours in the saddle proves to be torture. The crude, insensitive humor of the cow- hands appals him even before it acci- dentally causes a man's death from snakebite. And he is outraged by the inhumanly cold-blooded decisions which Ford is capable of making on behalf of the herd's long-range good. Despite his distaste, the young man sticks to his bargain, with an ironical though not unexpected result: suddenly he emerges as the toughest, most cold-blooded cow- boy of them all.

I rather think that the film's self- consciously different portrait of a cow- boy is as naïvely romantic and remote from actuality as the conventional stereotype. But the picture itself, decked out elaborately and tastefully in Techni- color, is off the beaten cowpaths and is great fun to watch. [L of D: A-I]

MOIRA WALSH

THE WORD

What God asks of you is that you should sanctify yourselves, and keep clear of fornication. Each of you must learn to control his own body, as something holy and held in honor, not yielding to the promptings of passion, as the heathen do in their ignorance of God (1 Thess. 4:3-5).

The first Epistle of St. Paul to the thriv- ing Christian community of what is now Salonika, in the north of Greece, pos- sesses three notable characteristics. It is the earliest piece of writing in the New Testament. It is one of the most affec- tionate and heart-warming of Paul's utterances. And it is largely concerned with the fascinating problem of the "parousia," the final, triumphant coming of Christ.

It would appear that the Christians of Thessalonica—and they have had countless imitators in the centuries since —had become preoccupied with the con- viction that the last coming of Christ the Judge was imminent. Eschatological notions were in the air, even throughout the Jewish and pagan worlds, and the Thessalonians had indeed been in- structed by St. Paul himself in this very matter.

Now whenever any authoritative pro- nouncement declares that such and such an event will unquestionably take place, people of a certain temperament will

shortly begin to suggest that the prom- ised event (especially if it be cataclysmic) will take place soon. After a bit, some will boldly assert that the dread doom will occur within a week. Then someone will say, "Yes, next Tuesday at four in the afternoon." Such is prophetic human nature: always rash, always wrong, always undiscouraged. It is just these traits that enable racing handi- cappers to make an honest living.

Apparently, some of the converts in Thessalonica had been so impressed by all this somewhat morbid speculation that they had (not unreasonably) quit their jobs, and were now devoting their entire time to waiting nervously for the parousia. Apparently, also, some of the weaker members of the community had begun to taste again (though not quite so reasonably) those now forbidden fruits of paganism which they had re- nounced at baptism.

Our present passage deals with the latter difficulty. This section of St. Paul is temperate and most explicit, and al- together without mystery.

The parousia of Christ is a perennial problem of religious speculation. The moral purity of the follower of Christ is a perennial problem of the most practi- cal religious sort. Christian continence, both in and out of marriage, makes a difficult and troublesome matter.

There is little use in complaining that Christianity has not really made people pure, seeing that no other religion has ever really tried to make people pure. What is certain is that Christ and His Church have a certain settled attitude or code in the matter of moral purity; and that attitude, that code, is hated to detestation by the secular, naturalist world of every age. In A.D. 58, a profu- sion of conveniently located pagan temples offered to the struggling Chris- tian neophyte (and to everyone else) the attractions of a horde of temple prostitutes. In A.D. 1958, contemporary mores offer to Catholic young people (and all other youth) the undoubted delectations of "going steady," or mar- riage-on-the-installment-plan; and busy commercial and eugenic (*sic*) agencies offer more and more handy forms of artificial contraception, just for maxi- mum peace of mind—though that last expression may not be completely ac- curate in the context.

Paul's closing sentence in today's Epistle could not be more timely than it is today: *The life to which God has called us is not one of incontinence, it is a life of holiness.* No doubt this sweep- ing truth does not end the struggle for purity; but it should keep the struggle going.

VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

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